THE MYTHOLOGY OF GREECE AND ROME

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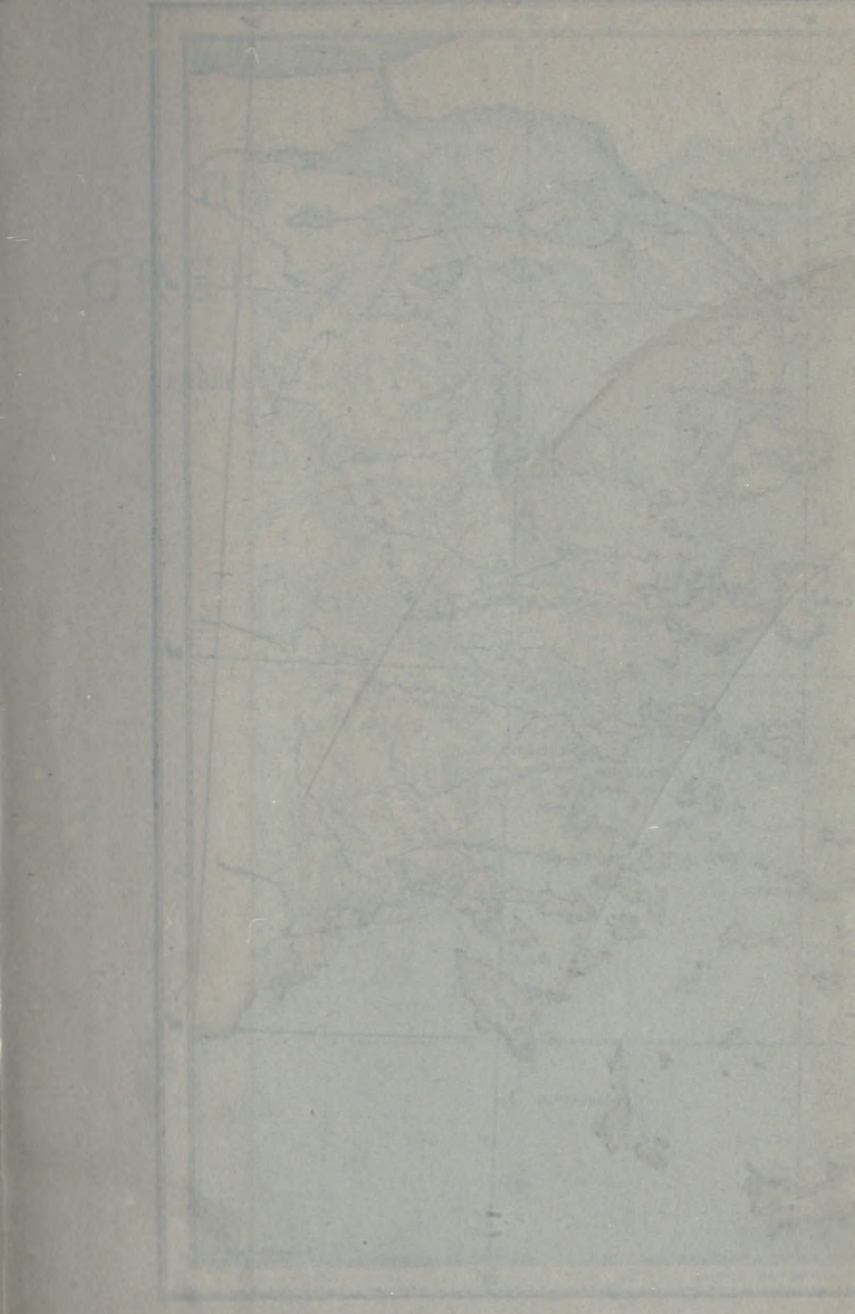

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THE MYTHOLOGY OF GREECE AND ROME

PRESENTED WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
ITS INFLUENCE ON LITERATURE

BY

ARTHUR FAIRBANKS

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"Schöne Welt, wo bist du?—Kehre wieder,
Holdes Blütenalter der Natur!
Ach, nur in dem Feenland der Lieder
Lebt noch deine fabelhafte Spur."

SCHILLER.

PREFACE

For more than two thousand years Greek Mythology has been the subject of systematic treatises, but even so old and familiar a subject may demand an occasional restatement, either to meet the needs of a new generation of readers, or to incorporate the results of further investigation.

During the last twenty years Roscher's *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* has been appearing slowly, and with articles more and more carefully written; many important articles on mythological subjects are found in the earlier volumes of Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*; and the first volume of the new edition of Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*, prepared by Robert, has been published. To this last volume, which should be the basis for all future work in this line, I wish to express my special indebtedness. The nature of the present book has prevented me from acknowledging in detail the suggestions I have received from these and other recent contributions to the subject. In general the influence of more or less recent investigations will be found (1) in the point of view outlined in the Introduction, (2) in the increased attention to the nature of each god as it appears in myth, and (3) in the systematic use of the remains of ancient art to interpret mythology.

The references to literature are intended merely to illustrate the wide-reaching influence of Greek myths first on the Latin poets and, mainly through the Latin poets, on

later writers. The teacher will be able to supplement indefinitely what is here given by way of suggestion. In selecting the references I have availed myself of the material in Gayley's *Classic Myths*, though I am much more indebted to a list of poems illustrating Greek mythology by Mr. Edward C. Guild (Bowdoin College Library Bulletin, No. 1), to supplement the material I have myself collected. References to Greek literature have ordinarily been omitted in accordance with my intention to point out the influence of these myths on later literature.

In spelling Greek names I have tried to follow ordinary English usage, except that where *ei* instead of *i* is permitted in English, I have adopted the variant which is nearer to the Greek. The epithets of the Greek gods are and must remain foreign words; as it would only be confusing to try to anglicize them, they have been simply transliterated.

The original plan of the present volume is due to Professor John Henry Wright of Harvard University. It was our intention to carry on the work together and to point out the influence of Greek and Roman mythology on later art as well as on later literature. Owing to pressure of other work Professor Wright was unable to treat the influence of classic myths as it is seen in art, and it has proved necessary to omit this portion of the plan. Further, Professor Wright's absence from the country has made it impossible for him to read the proof, or no doubt various slips would have been corrected before the book was published. In the preparation of the work, however, I have had the benefit of Professor Wright's constant encouragement and helpful advice, and I gladly take this opportunity to express to him my gratitude for his assistance.

ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 1

PART I.—MYTHS OF THE GODS

CHAPTER I.—THE GODS IN HOMER 36
CHAPTER II.—THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WORLD 64
CHAPTER III.—ZEUS-JUPITER; HERA-JUNO; ATHENA-MINERVA . 88
CHAPTER IV.—LETO; APOLLO; ARTEMIS-DIANA 119
CHAPTER V.—GODS OF THE EARTH, THE WATER, AND THE SKY . 141
CHAPTER VI.—GODS OF VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL LIFE: DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE, DIONYSUS, HERMES, PAN . . 171
CHAPTER VII.—GODS OF HUMAN LIFE: APHRODITE, ARES, HEPHÆSTUS, ETC. 205
CHAPTER VIII.—HADES AND THE REALM OF SOULS 225
CHAPTER IX.—ROMAN DIVINITIES NOT ALREADY TREATED . . 246

PART II.—MYTHS OF HEROES

CHAPTER X.—MYTHS OF LOCAL HEROES 257
I. MYTHS OF ARGOS 257
II. MYTHS OF CORINTH 268
III. MYTHS OF ARCADIA, LACONIA, AND MESSENE . . . 273
IV. MYTHS OF THEBES 281
V. MYTHS OF CRETE 294
VI. MYTHS OF ATTICA 302
VII. MYTHS OF ÆTOLIA 309
CHAPTER XI.—HERACLES AND THESEUS 314
I. HERACLES 314
II. THESEUS 338
CHAPTER XII.—THE ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION 347
CHAPTER XIII.—THE LEGEND OF TROY 359
INDEX 395
GENEALOGICAL TABLES 409

ABBREVIATIONS

Baum.: Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, 1885.
Coll.: Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, 1897.
Gard.: Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins*, 1883.
Gerh.: Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*, 1840–1858.
Harr. Macc.: Harrison-Maccoll, *Greek Vase Paintings*, 1896.
Mon.: *Monumenti inediti dell' Instituto di correspondenza archeologica*, 1829–1885.
Overb.: Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 1871 sq.
Rosch.: Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 1884 sq.
Sq.: Overbeck, J., *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, 1868.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG. PAGE

1.—Metope from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. *Baum., Fig.* 1286 3
2.—Athenian Vase Painting. *Baum., Fig.* 373 9
3.—Relief from Mantinea. *From a photograph* 20
4.—Metope from a Temple at Selinus in Sicily. *From a photograph* 45
5.—The Apollo Belvedere, Now in the Vatican. *From a photograph* 48
6.—Athenian Vase Painting. *Gerh., Taf.* 83 52
7.—Athenian Vase Painting from the Outside of a Kylix. *Harr. Macc., Plate* XX 53
8.—Athenian Vase Painting Attributed to Amasis. *Mon., Tav.* X B 61
9.—Late Greek Relief, Now in the Capitoline Museum. *From a photograph* 68
10.—Onyx Cameo of Athenion in the Naples Museum. *Overb., Gemtaf.* V, 2 70
11.—The Great Altar of Zeus the Saviour at Pergamon. *Pontremoli et Collignon, Plate* VII 74
12.—Slab from the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. *From a photograph* 75
13.—Athenian Vase Painting. "*Journal of Hellenic Studies*," XXI (?), *Plate* I 81
14.—Battle of the Gods and Giants. *Overb.*, "*Atlas*," *Taf.* V, 2a, 87
15.—Marble Head of Zeus Found at Otricoli and Preserved in the Vatican. *From a photograph* 89
16.—Late Greek Relief, Now in the Capitoline Museum. *From a photograph* 92
17.—Coin of Elis. *Gard., Plate* XV, 19 96
18.—Coin of Elis. *Gard., Plate* XV, 18 96
19.—Marble Head of Hera. *From a photograph* 100

FIG. PAGE

20.—Coin of Argos. *Gard., Plate* VIII, 40 101

21*a*.—Relief from a Base Found at Mantinea. "*Bulletin de Correspondance hellenique*," XII, *Plates* II and III . . . 104

21*b*.—Second Relief from the Mantinean Base. "*Bulletin de Correspondance hellenique*," XII, *Plates* II and III . . . 105

22.—Marble Statue in the Style of Pheidias. *Furtwangler*, "*Meisterwerke*," *Taf.* II 112

23.—The Parthenon as It Appears To-day when Seen from the West. *From a photograph* 114

24.—Statuette Found near the Varvakeion and Now in the Museum at Athens. "*Athenische Mittheilungen*," 1881, *Taf.* II 115

25.—Small Marble Relief in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. *From a photograph* 116

26.—Coin of Syracuse. *Gard., Plate* VI, 25 116

27.—Coin of Argos. *Gard., Plate* VIII, 40 118

28.—Athenian Vase Painting. *Rosch.*, II, 1973 120

29.—View of the Ruins of Apollo's Shrine at Delphi. *From a photograph* 123

30.—Central Figures in the West Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. *Coll.*, I, *Plates* IX–X 124

31.—Marble Statue of the Palatine Apollo, Now in the Vatican. *Baum., Fig.* 194 129

32.—The Artemis of Versailles, Now in the Louvre. *Coll.*, II, *Fig.* 162 135

33.—Artemis from Gabii, Now in the Louvre. *From a photograph* 136

34.—Relief Said to Have Been Found on the Island of Ægeria. *Arch.-Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1880, *Taf.* III, 138

35.—Coin of Selinus. *Gard., Plate* VI, 1 146

36.—Coin of Syracuse. *Gard., Plate* VI, 21 147

37.—Colossal Marble Head Found near Naples, Now in the Vatican. *Brunn*, "*Griechische Götterideale*," *Taf.* VI . 149

38*a*.—Marble Bust Found at Ostia (?), and Now in the Vatican. *Overb.*, "*Atlas*," *Taf.* XI, 11 153

38*b*.—Side View of Fig. 38*a*. *Overb.*, "*Atlas*," *Taf.* XI, 12 . 154

39.—Didrachmon of Poseidonia. *Overb., Münztaf.* IV, 2 . . . 157

40.—Coin of Rhodes. *Gard., Plate* V, 15 and 21 160

41.—Athenian Vase Painting. *Rosch.*, I, 1275 161

42.—"Tower of the Winds" at Athens. *Stuart and Revett*, "*Antiquities of Athens*," *Plate* XIV 170

FIG. PAGE
43.—Large Marble Relief at Eleusis. *From a photograph* . . 172
44.—Coins of Syracuse. *Gard., Plate* XI, 28 173
45.—Colossal Statue, Now in the Vatican. *From a photograph* . 174
46.—Vase Painting on a Fragment of a Late Amphora. *Overb., "Atlas," Taf.* XVII, 26*a* 177
47.—Head of a Seated Statue Found on the Island of Cnidos, and Now in the British Museum. *Brunn, "Griechische Götterideale," Taf.* IV 178
48.—Ruins of the Temple of Pluto in the Precinct of Demeter at Eleusis. *From a photograph* 181
49.—Marble Statue Found in the Villa of Hadrian at Tibur, Now in the Thermæ Museum at Rome. *From a photograph* 184
50.—Neo-Attic Relief in the Naples Museum. *Harrison, "Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion," Fig.* 111 . . 185
51.—The Theatre at Athens, in Its Present Condition. *From a photograph* 187
52.—Athenian Vase Painting (Vase in Munich). *Gerh.*, II, *Taf.* 81 188
53.—Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in the Louvre). *Millin, "Peintures des vases antiques,"* I, *Plate* IX 189
54.—Athenian Vase Painting (Vase in Museum Gregorianum). *Baum., Fig.* 741 196
55.—Marble Statue of Hermes Carrying the Infant God Dionysus, by Praxiteles (Olympia). *From a photograph* . . . 198
56.—Terra-Cotta Figurine 200
57.—Marble Statue of Pan in the National Museum at Athens. *From a photograph* 203
58.—Marble Relief from the "Ludovisi Throne" in the Thermæ Museum at Rome. *From a photograph* 206
59.—Athenian Red-figured Lecythus (Vase in British Museum). *"Journal of Hellenic Studies,"* 1891, p. 317 . . . 207
60.—Marble Statue Found on the Island of Melos, and Now in the Louvre. *Coll.*, II, *Plate* XI 209
61.—Marble Statue of Eros in the Vatican ("Genius of the Vatican"). *From a photograph* 211
62.—The So-called Ares Borghese, Now in the Louvre. *Coll.*, II, *Fig.* 61 215
63.—Wall Painting from the Baths of Titus. *Baum., Fig.* 961 . 216
64.—Marble Head Found in Rome, and Now in the Vatican Museum. *Brunn, "Griechische Götterideale," Taf.* II . 218

FIG. PAGE

65.—Hestia Giustiniani, Now in the Collection Torlonia at Rome. *Baum., Fig.* 748 220

66.—Marble Head Found at Melos, and Now in the British Museum. *Brunn, "Griechische Götterideale," Taf.* IX . . 221

67.—The Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus. *Defrasse et Lechat, "Epidaure,"* Plate III 222

68.—Marble Relief Found at Epidaurus, Now in the National Museum at Athens. *From a photograph* 223

69.—Wall Painting Found in the Kitchen of a House at Pompeii. *Baum., Fig.* 888 228

70.—Outline Painting on a White Lecythus in Munich. *Panofka, "Bilder antiken Lebens," Taf.* XX, 7 230

71.—Obol and Half-Obol. *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, XIII, *Plate* IV, 11–12 231

72.—Red-figured Painting on a South Italian Vase, Now in Altamura. *Baum., Fig.* 2042 A 232

73.—Terra-Cotta Relief from Locri in Italy. *Rosch.*, I, 1797 . 236

74.—Outline Painting on a White Lecythus in the British Museum. *Baum., Fig.* 1810 237

75.—Marble Relief in the Villa Albani. *From a photograph* . 241

76.—Red-figured Vase from Cumæ (In Berlin Museum, 3923). *Baum., Fig.* 821 242

77.—Roman As. *Rosch.*, II, 50 246

78.—Bronze Statuette. *Baum.*, 564 248

79.—Marble Statue, Formerly in Paris. *Baum., Fig.* 1731 . . 249

80.—*a*. Denarius of Servilia. *b*. Denarius of Clodia. *Rosch.*, I, 1786 251

81.—Roman Coin of the Empire. *Rosch.*, I, 1488 254

82.—Wall Painting from the House of Livia on the Palatine Hill, Rome. *Overb., "Atlas," Taf.* VII, 11 259

83.—Athenian Vase Painting (Vase in St. Petersburg Museum, 1723). *Harr. Macc., Plate* XXXIV A 262

84.—Vase Painting on the Reverse of the Same Vase (Fig. 83). *Harr. Macc., Plate* XXXIV B. 263

85.—Vase Painting in Black and White on a Red Surface (Vase in Berlin Museum, 1652). *Rosch.*, III, 2031 . . . 265

86.—Coins of Corinth. *Imhoof Blumer and P. Gardner, "Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias," Plate* C, XXX, XXXI, 271

87.—Athenian Vase Painting, Now in Vienna. *Baum., Fig.* 706, 276

88.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting by Exekias (Vase in Museum Gregorianum). *Rosch.*, I, 1173 279

FIG. PAGE

89.—The So-called "Toro Farnese," a Marble Group of Figures Larger than Life, by Apollonius and Tauriscus (Naples). *From a photograph* 282

90.—Red-figured Vase Painting Found in the Crimea (Now in St. Petersburg, 2189). *Rosch.*, II, 839 284

91.—Metope from a Temple at Selinus in Sicily (Palermo). *From a photograph* 286

92.—Red-figured Athenian Vase Painting from the Hamilton Collection. *Baum., Fig.* 1267 288

93.—Early Corinthian Vase Painting in Dark Brown and White on a Yellow Surface (Vase in Berlin, 1655). *Baum., Fig.* 1267 291

94.—Archaic Coin of Gortyna in Crete. *Overb., Münztaf.* VI, i . 294

95.—Silver Coin of Cnossus in Crete. *Collection Photiadès Pacha, Plate* VI, 1237 296

96.—Athenian Vase Painting with Black Figures on a Red Ground. *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, II, p. 30 . . . 297

97.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in Corneto Museum). *Harr. Macc., Plate* XXXV 298

98.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in Corneto Museum). *Rosch.*, I, 1306 303

99.—Athenian Vase Painting on the Interior of a Kylik. *Baum., Fig.* 1484 305

100.—Late Roman Sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum. *Baum., Fig.* 992 310

101.—Roman Sarcophagus, Now in the Louvre. *Baum., Fig.* 991, 313

102.—Marble Statue Larger than Life, Now in the Naples Museum. *From a photograph* 315

103.—Coin of Croton in Sicily. *Gard., Plate* V, 10 316

104.—Red-figured Vase Painting Found at Pæstum, and Now in Madrid. *Baum., Fig.* 732 317

105.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting. *British Museum Catalogue of Vases, Fig.* 22 319

106.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting. *Baum., Fig.* 724 . 320

107.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting. *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, II, p. 19 323

108.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting. *Ibidem*, II, p. 17 . 324

109.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting by Euphronius. *Baum.*, Fig. 86 325

110.—Archaistic Vase Painting in Black and White on a Red Surface. *Baum., Fig.* 394*a* 326

FIG. PAGE
111.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting. *Catalogue of Vases in the Ashmolean Museum, Plate* VIII 330
112.—Lucanian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in Munich, 384). *Baum., Fig.* 734 335
113.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting by Euphronius (Vase in the Louvre). *Harr. Macc., Plate* XIV 339
114.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in the Museo Greco-Etrusco, Florence). *Harr. Macc., Plate* X . . . 341
115.—Wall Painting in the Naples Museum. *Baum., Fig.* 1486 . 348
116.—Stucco Relief from a Roman Tomb. *Baum., Fig.* 51 . . 349
117.—Terra-Cotta Relief in the British Museum. *Baum., Fig.* 127 353
118.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting (Vase from Collection Canino). *Baum., Fig.* 1394 357
119.—Coin of Syracuse. *Gard., Plate* VI, 26 361
120.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting (Vase in Museum Gregorianum). *Rosch.*, I, 14 363
121.—Marble Relief in Naples. *Baum., Fig.* 708 367
122.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting by Hieron (Vase in the Louvre). *Baum., Fig.* 776 370
123.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting. *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*. III, *Plate* VII 371
124.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting (Vase in Würzburg). *Baum., Fig.* 778 372
125.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in the Louvre). *Baum., Fig.* 781 373
126.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting (Vase published by Rochette, *Mon. ined.*, I, *Plate* 17). *Baum., Fig.* 789 . 374
127.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in Vienna). *Baum., Fig.* 791 375
128.—Athenian Black-figured Vase Painting by Exekias (Vase in British Museum, 554). *Baum., Fig.* 2123 377
129.—Engraved Gem. *Baum., Fig.* 794 379
130.—Marble Group by Agesander, and His Sons Polydorus and Athenodorus of Rhodes (in the Vatican). *From a photograph* 380
131.—Coin of Julius Cæsar. *Baum., Fig.* 33 381
132.—Red-figured Amphora from Apulia. "*Revue archeologique*," 1845, *Plate* 40 385
133.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in the Chiusi Museum). *Rosch.*, III, 1914 386

FIG. PAGE
134.—Athenian Red-figured and Black-figured Vase Paintings (Vases in private collections). *Harr. Macc., Plate* XXIX, 388
135.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in the Parma Museum). *Rosch.*, II, 1195 389
136.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in the British Museum, E 440). *Baum., Fig.* 1700 390
137.—Terra-Cotta Relief in the Museo Kircheriano. *Baum., Fig.* 1257 391
138.—Athenian Red-figured Vase Painting (Vase in Berlin Museum, 2588). *Baum., Fig.* 2139 392

THE MYTHOLOGY OF GREECE AND ROME

INTRODUCTION

While one may understand allusions to classical myths by the persistent use of a classical dictionary, it is hardly possible to learn their beauty or significance in such piecemeal fashion. In taking up the study of mythology more systematically it is well to ask some preliminary questions: What is a myth? Why are classical myths deemed worthy of study, and other equally large groups of myths left to the antiquary and the anthropologist? What is the relation of the myth to other forms of social expression? We may even ask, How do myths arise, and what are the laws of their development? for such development is not difficult to trace. How are classical myths to be studied? What are the materials at our disposal? And what is to be the final aim of the student? Such are some of the questions to be treated in this introduction.

1. **Definition of Myths.**—To begin with the simplest and most fundamental question of all, What is a myth? It is plain that mythology does not include all the popular lore created by the imagination to the delight of peoples who do not yet have a proper literature, nor is it essentially a form of theological expression for primitive peoples. Is the myth the same as the allegory? The following definition may serve to indicate the object to be studied:

Myths are stories of the acts of superhuman beings, often improbable to us, but believed to be true by those who related them.

The narrative form is essential. While myths deal with the gods, they are not expressions of worship (prayers or psalms) nor statements of belief (creeds). Even when they describe the gods, they do it indirectly, in connection with some story of their acts. So when they deal with the constantly recurring processes of nature, the description aims to be a narrative of what happened once in the mythical past. According to Hesiod, Day is the child of Night; that is, the ever repeated birth of the new day becomes the experience of divine beings in the early history of the world. Rivers derive their waters from the sky and ultimately from the ocean; in myth they are the children once begotten by Oceanus. The bear was held in reverence by the worshipers of Artemis; in myth this connection with the goddess finds expression in a narrative of the transformation of one of the attendants of Artemis into a bear. Thus in treating the objects of religion as well as in treating the processes of nature, the narrative form is essential to myth. The content of the myth may be religious, or scientific, or historical; it is a myth only when it is put into the form of a story to interest and amuse.

Though many of these narratives deal with facts of nature, the figures in them are all persons, ordinarily superhuman persons. Modern study of the religion, the philosophy, the science, as well as the mythology of primitive peoples starts with the so-called doctrine of animism. The world is not a conglomeration of carefully balanced forces; rather it is instinct with life. Not by a metaphor of language but by a metaphor of experience, sun and stars, rivers and lakes, even stones, are regarded as alive. This is the simplest interpretation of the world, this naïve idealism, which treats every physical fact as the act of a personal will. So the child treats his toy as though it could understand his words and answer his affection; so the man in a moment of anger may strike a chair against which he has

stumbled, as Xerxes lashed the Hellespont for destroying his bridge. Not yet having developed the power of abstraction, primitive peoples treat physical processes as due to personal will, so that the attempt to describe them inevitably becomes a narrative of the acts of personal beings.

FIG. 1.—METOPE FROM THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA (about 450 B.C.).
Atlas offers the apples of the Hesperides to Heracles, who is supporting the heavens with the help of Athena.

In the myth-making period the Greeks were quite in this stage of civilization, nor did they ever entirely outgrow it. Acheloüs (the river) is a passionate lover; Taÿgete (the mountain above Sparta), a nymph in the train of Artemis; the sun, Helios, is a charioteer driving across the sky; the power which holds the sky above the earth is a giant, Atlas,

who never tires. Thus the world is treated as if it consisted entirely of living beings, and the explanation of nature becomes the source of countless myths.

That the characters in myth are superhuman, at least in some particular, seems a necessary supposition in order to account for an interest in the story. The direct statement of an evident fact would not be a myth. Only when it is referred to some being other than human, or when some such personality is brought into the narrative, does it receive this name. The distinction would not have been recognized in the myth-making period. Looking back, however, we can distinguish partially between direct and "mythical" statements; and we see that in the rise of the latter there were operative certain definite forces, which are no longer acting to-day.

Finally the myths, in spite of many irrational, even absurd elements, were believed to be true so long as they continued to be genuine myths. It is often possible to distinguish the element of fact and the element of fiction. That myths should in a measure correspond to recognized facts, is perhaps necessary in order that they may be considered true. They are located in regions quite familiar to the original hearers. They reproduce the characters of the people who tell them, as Odysseus represents one type of Greek in his shrewdness and in his persistent endurance. Something of historical fact may be detected in the story of the Trojan wars. A true scientific observation underlies the myth of the Vale of Tempe, the myth which explains the worship of Zeus Pelorios there by an incident connected with the rending apart of Ossa and Olympus.* These facts are assumed as the setting of myth: they remain incidental and in the background; still they are none the less necessary for the credibility of myths.

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* *Athenæus*, XIV, 639 E.

Between fact and fiction the myth draws no line, since all is told as fact and believed as fact. It belongs to the very nature of myth, however, that it is the product of an imagination in no wise trammeled by actual experience. In contrast with the philosophical reflective poetry of India, these Greek myths are the naïve expression of fancy, peopling the world with beings often weird, superior to man, but in a way his fellows. The absurdity of the story was no obstacle to its belief. Cronus swallowing his children and disgorging them alive, Medusa's head that turned men to stone, the birth of Pegasus when this head was severed from its body, the existence of Sphinxes, Chimæras, and Scyllas—these were as real as Zeus the father of gods and men. How these stories could have arisen is a question that will demand some explanation. The reality of this mythical world, however, was reconciled with the world of everyday life by means of a very simple expedient—by referring it to an earlier age. Whatever the actual age of a myth, it was referred to the period ending with the Trojan war—a period of which nothing could be demonstrated false, for it was "by hypothesis" different from the world of actual experience.

The myth as thus defined differs in several particulars from the allegory and the fable. An allegory is a narrative of imaginary events, constructed by men who have discovered some truth and desire to teach it to others. This mode of expression is chosen either to teach where the truth cannot be demonstrated, or because the truth will make a deeper impression than if it were taught directly. The parable is thus a sort of allegory. The fable also is a narrative that is constructed with a purpose, and not regarded by the narrator as a statement of facts. Its primary aim is to amuse; when it is instructive, the point is made through humor. The myth differs from both these other narratives of imaginary events (1) in that it is not con-

structed by any one person, but rather grows under many hands; (2) in that it is not intended to serve any ulterior purpose; and (3) in that, so long as it preserves its own life, it is believed to be actually true. As soon as the myth was taken from the people into literature, its truth became a secondary matter. It remained a myth in the proper sense of the term only when narrator and hearer alike accepted it as fact.

2. **On the Study of Classical Mythology.**—(*a*) The most important reason for the study of classical myths is the influence they have exerted on literature and art. For the anthropologist the myths of savage peoples are peculiarly interesting. Indirectly they express a people's observations on its own life and culture; directly they constitute all the history, philosophy, and science that such peoples possess. The myths of more highly civilized peoples, such as the early inhabitants of Peru and Mexico, have this same interest in perhaps higher degree. They are, however, entirely without influence on any phase of our own civilization. Because Indo-Germanic peoples are more closely related to us, the myths of India and of the Slavic and Germanic races are more deserving of attention. Some of these have found their way into modern literature, although their influence is relatively small. On the other hand the classical myths—that is, the myths of Greece and Rome—exercise a constant, perhaps an increasing, influence on our literature and art. The original reason for this was the unusually rich mythology of Greece. Greek poetry drew more largely from mythology than from any other one source. The Roman poets, finding practically no mythology of their own, continued to use the material brought into their literature by Greek poetry, only changing the names to a Roman form. With the revival of learning, classical poetry and classical mythology again came into vogue. In spite of all reactions from classical models the

nature of this mythology has made it a permanent influential factor in all modern literature. A current starting from Greece, slightly modified in passing through Rome, receiving some side streams from northern Europe, it has remained essentially Greek. The inspiration our poets have drawn from this source is not merely general. Themes from mythology are chosen for their poems, and allusions to its characters increase the range of their imagery. The reader of Goethe or Shakespeare no less than the reader of Dante or Racine is supposed to know the world of Greek mythology as he knows the world of nature and of human life.

(*b*) For the student of Greek civilization mythology offers an important source of information. Nowhere else can he become acquainted with certain phases of early society. No other one source is so important for the study of Greek religion. While the light which myths throw on the beginnings of science and philosophy is indirect and sometimes confusing, it cannot be neglected. Nor can the history of Greece be written without the intelligent study of myths.

(*c*) Greek mythology is of permanent value because it is the product of an imagination as finely cultivated as it is highly developed. If any one thing is characteristic of the Greek people as contrasted with other peoples, it is the part which imagination plays in their civilization. We still read Greek poetry, we study the orations of Demosthenes, we admire the art of Praxiteles, not because the Greeks were scientific or logical or practical, but because of the power and truth of their imagination. Freedom of the imagination, even in the case of the greatest artists, has certain limits which are set by the nature of the material used. Although the stone seems a perfect medium of expression for the sculptor, still the very principles by which he succeeds mean that certain limitations are set, within which his imagination must work. Myths differ

from other expressions of the imagination in that they are the product of the people as a whole and, further, in that there is no limit set to check the free working of the mind. We study them because here the most striking characteristic of the Greek people appears untrammeled by anything except the sense of fitness and beauty. And we may expect them still to be a storehouse for poets and artists, until some other people develops an imagination as strong, as free, and as perfect as that of the early Greeks.

3. **Theories as to the Origin and Interpretation of Myths.**—In ancient as in modern times the interpretation of myths has been no simple problem.* As soon as their literal truth was questioned some explanation was felt to be necessary; nor does the explanation seem an easy matter when one considers the irrational, often absurd forms assumed by the ideal element in myths. If they were purely fantastic they might have been accepted as such, but they dealt with familiar facts and had always been accepted as true. It is this combination of the true and real with the fantastic accepted as true which made an explanation necessary.

(*a*) *Myths as Allegories of Nature.*—Ge = the earth, Helios = the sun, Selene = the moon, Boreas = the northeast wind, Jupiter Pluvius is the giver of rain, Alpheius is a river, and Arethusa a spring. Starting with such transparent personifications, a long line of interpreters have explained the gods as natural forces, and the myths as physical phenomena. Socrates † says: "I might have a rational explanation that Oreithyia was playing with Pharmacia, when a northern gust carried her over the neighboring rocks; and this being the manner of her death she is said to have been carried off by Boreas." According

* A full discussion of this topic is found in O. Gruppe, *Die Griechische Culte und Mythen*, I. Kap. i. † Plato, *Phædrus*, 229 C, Jowett.

to Epicharmus* "the gods are the winds, water, earth, sun, fire, the stars"—a favorite method of interpretation in the Stoic school. Cronus is explained as equivalent to *Chronus* (time); he swallows his children, for time brings forth each day as a new child, and consumes his own offspring. The myth of Io becomes an allegory when the wanderings of Io are explained as meaning the irregular course of the moon in the heavens; while Argus of the hundred eyes is the starry heaven watching the moon. Noel Conti† finds some such subtle meaning in each myth he treats; Dupuis‡ derives a whole system of astronomy from the classic myths; nor is the method abandoned by modern writers. Reville§ explains the myth of Actæon destroyed by the dogs of Artemis, as the shadow of a rock (that is, Actæon) falling on a river which reflects the rays of the moon (Artemis). In the dog days such a rock is

FIG. 2.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING (fifth century B. C.). Boreas carries off Oreithyia, who holds out her hand in farewell to Herse (i. e., the dew).

* Stobæus, 91, 29. † *Mythologia* (1584).
‡ *L'origine de tous les cultes* (1731).
§ *Prolégomènes de l'histoire des religions*, p. 150.

deprived of its life and verdure by the heat; mythically speaking, it is slain by the dogs! The ingenuity of Sir G. W. Cox suffices to reduce the myths of Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Phaëthon, Aphrodite, Heracles, Perseus, Theseus, Œdipus, etc., to accounts of the passage of the sun across the heavens.

The danger of such facile ingenuity is well stated by Francis Bacon in the preface to a work * which illustrates the very error he condemns. "Nor does it escape my notice what an inconstant thing myths are, so that they may be pulled and twisted this way and that; and of how little worth is the excellent wit and discourse that supplies excellent meanings never intended by the original authors."† It would be a sufficient objection to the use of this method that the results obtained by it are in many instances absolutely capricious. Further, those who use it proceed on a false assumption, the assumption that some truth is intentionally hidden behind the allegorical form. There is not the slightest evidence that the Greek myths in general were such allegories used by wise men or priests to teach truths that could not otherwise be expressed. Strange stories, like the story of Cronus, are to be explained on an entirely different principle.‡

While it is impossible to lay too much stress on the fact that we are dealing with myths proper, not with allegories, it is not always easy to draw a line between allegory and

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* *De sapientia veterum* (1609).

† Cf. Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, I, 277, 278), who points out that the story of Perseus might be an allegory of trade (Labor = Perseus, freeing profit = Andromeda, who is chained and about to be devoured by Capital) just as well as the allegory of war which Bacon expounds.

‡ "In the soul of man the gods arise. It is not only an error, but a vicious error, to seek them in the external world, to make Apollo a dead ball of fire in the sky."—Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Isyllos*, 97, note.

the "nature-poetry" of myth. It is possible that the story of Io was in part a poetic statement of the moon's wanderings. Certainly the first efforts to describe and explain natural phenomena took the form of myth. The processes of nature were treated as expressions of voluntary activity, so that the description of these processes necessarily assumed the form of narratives about superhuman beings. The motive of such tales was that curiosity which ultimately became the motive of science, even though the line of activity to which it gave rise was determined wholly by the imagination. Childish as were many of the results, foundations were being laid for a genuine science.*

In a word, the allegorical explanation of myths is to be discarded as false because it assumes some hidden meaning to explain what is grotesque or irrational. But the fact remains that animism lies at the basis of myth-making, and that some, not all, myths are the poetic statement of processes in nature.

(*b*) *Myths as History: Euhemerism.*—While the allegorical explanation of myths has special reference to the ideal and irrational elements in them, the historical explanation takes account of the element of fact. It derives its name from the Cyrenaic philosopher Euhemerus (b. 316 B. C.), who wrote a treatise on the gods, in which he explained them as glorified men. Hera and Medea were once human queens; Zeus was a king in Crete where his grave could still be seen; Heracles was a warrior whose prowess was equaled only by his desire to overthrow the enemies of society. It was the same principle which led

* "There is nothing surprising in the fact that some myths show wonderful ingenuity or even philosophic depth. . . . When the human spirit is working spontaneously, it is philosophical in the same sense that the bee is a mathematician in the construction of its cells, or the beaver an architect in building its house."—Reville, *Prolégomènes de l'histoire des religions*, p. 158.

Herodotus to explain the story of Cyrus's childhood by making the bitch who suckled him a herdsman's wife with the name Spaka = Kyno (that is, "bitch"). This theory has been revived by Christian writers * who find in the gods of Greece Old-Testament characters, modified by their new environment. So Gladstone explains Athena as the Wisdom of the Book of Proverbs, Apollo as an impersonation of the expected Redeemer, the Titans as rebellious angels, while the three sons of Cronus reflect the Jewish idea of the Trinity.† When Herbert Spencer teaches that the dead were first feared, then worshiped, then made the subject of story, he also reduces mythology to a perverted form of history.

That there is an historic background to myth has been abundantly proved by all recent critics. The analysis of the myth of Cyrene ‡ proves it an interesting example of history under a thin veil of story. Every myth reflects the social and political circumstances of the people among whom it originated. At the same time the imaginative element in myths must be given its full rights. The absurd, the miraculous, the fanciful in these myths are not history, nor can any alchemy make them history. It has been well said that the historic cases of men who have been deified can be explained only by a previous belief in gods: the men are deified to exalt them to the rank of gods already existing. That the Cretans pointed out

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* Bochart, *Geographica sacra*, I, 1; Huet, *Demonstratio evangelica;* Vossius, *Théologie païenne et physiologie chrétienne.*

† The same line of thought appears in the works of Banier (*La mythologie et les fables expliquées par l'histoire*, 1737), Sainte-Croix, and in the *Classical Dictionary* of Lemprière. According to the latter (cf. Livy, I, 4, 7) Romulus and Remus were suckled by a woman named Lupa, so that the story of the she-wolf would be history misunderstood.

‡ K. O. Müller, *Prolegomena*, 142 f.; Studniczka, *Kyrene*, 39 f. See also p. 127 herein.

the grave of Zeus is a fact easily understood in its proper connection.*

Myths are due to the poetic instinct far more than to historic interest. Without questioning the historic background of myth we may safely say that it is not the primary element in myths, nor does it serve as an important clew in explaining them.

(*c*) *Mythology and Language.*—A third explanation of myths is essentially modern, though there are some traces of it in antiquity. The Greeks laid stress on the importance of names as denoting character; Max Müller, followed by some scholars on the Continent, undertook to explain belief in the gods and myths about the gods as due to a necessary error in the development of language. *Nomina numina* is the watchword of this school. In general terms they hold that what we have called the fanciful or irrational element of myths is due to a mistake of the social mind, and that the error is one which we may trace to its roots.

The theory of Max Müller was proposed when enthusiasm for the comparative study of languages was at its height. The relation of the different Indo-European languages had been proved, the comparative method had yielded some results as to the early history of these peoples; naturally it was proposed to transfer this method to the study of religion and mythology. At once was perceived the truth of the equation, Dyaus pitar = Zeus (pater) = Jupiter = Tiu. . . . Of the many similar equations that have been proposed, scarcely one has commanded general assent. Although the study of religious ritual has derived some aid from this method, it has proved all but useless for mythology.

Max Müller went further than the proposal to use the

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* *Infra*, Chapter III, §2. We know now that Indo-European peoples worshiped a Zeus before they had ever seen the island of Crete.

comparative method in the study of classical mythology. He attempted the bold task of explaining exactly how particular myths assumed the forms in which we find them. His principle, which he has called a "disease of language," may be stated briefly as follows: The simple descriptions of physical phenomena were inevitably misunderstood by those who repeated them; the gender of natural objects made them seem alive, and statements of fact necessarily were soon understood as stories of persons.* "Full sunlight follows the dawn" became "The Sun follows—that is, pursues—the Dawn (a maiden)." This explains the Greek myth that Apollo (the sun) pursues Daphne (= Dahanâ = Ahanâ = "dawn"). Inasmuch as wood burns, we are told, the name "daphne" (burning) was applied to the laurel tree; then the double use of the word (Daphne pursued by Apollo, and daphne = laurel tree) was explained by the metamorphosis of the nymph Daphne into a laurel tree—and the myth was complete. With much greater show of probability the transformation of stones thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha† is explained by the similarity of the Greek words λâος and λαός.

Without denying the influence of language on myths, we must still discredit theories in which capricious interpretation plays so large a part.

(*d*) *The Theory of Survival.*—The most important advance in the understanding of myths during recent years is the contribution of anthropology. The thesis has been fully established that beliefs and stories, as well as practices, tend to survive long after their original meaning has been lost. Instead of rejecting absurd and immoral tales of the gods, as did Pindar and Plato, we refer them to a period when perhaps the gods did not come up to a later standard of morality, a period moreover when many of these myths

* *Chips from a German Workshop*, II, 92, 156. † See page 87 *infra*.

had a different meaning from that attributed to them by later Greek writers.* The strange birth of Dionysus from the thigh of Zeus seems to have been a popular effort to connect a new god with the recognized father of the gods. The story of the servitude of Apollo may have grown from the attempt to explain the belief of the shepherds that the god of flocks sometimes came and tended their sheep for them. Hephæstus was lame—was it fanciful to say that this lameness was due to his father's anger as was the lameness of more than one human smith? And the story survived after the conception of Zeus had grown much more lofty. Deceit and theft were attributed to the gods when men honored cunning like that of Odysseus; the stories of such acts by the gods survived in an age when they were in direct antithesis to the higher conception of the nature of the gods. A long series of myths grew out of religious practices, the original meaning of which was no longer understood. To mention one or two cases: it is said that the Curetes made a great din to drown the cries of the infant Zeus, in order that Cronus might not know of his existence. This practice —that is, dances of men in full armor to drive away some evil, as for instance an eclipse—is found in many other parts of the world besides Crete; misunderstood by the Cretans, it became connected with the myth of Cronus. Again, the sacred mice in certain temples of Apollo in Asia Minor† gave rise to various myths. The dove is the "symbol" of Aphrodite, the owl of Athena, the dog of Hecate, because at some time they had a place in the worship of these gods.

This theory of survival explains definitely the origin of certain myths; but more important than this, it furnishes a principle of interpretation which is historically sound and of wide application.

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* Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 283 f. † Cf. Strabo, XIII, 604.

A consideration of these different explanations of myths serves to emphasize (*a*) the presence of fact (social, historical, geographical, etc.) in myth; and (*b*) the imaginative, ideal content of myths. Although this second element is often absurd, even grotesque, and is out of line with later Greek ideas of the gods, it remains a factor which cannot be neglected or explained away.

4. **Mythology and Religion.**—The intimate connection of mythology and religion appears at once in the fact that myths are narratives about superhuman beings; that is, about gods and heroes. In Greece mythology takes the place of sacred history: there is no theology except what is contained in myths; the only explanation of ritual is found in myth. It is important therefore to understand at once what place myths held in the religious consciousness. A consideration of the myths themselves shows that although they were held to be true, they were not in any sense held to be authoritative; in other words, they did not constitute a sacred dogma, nor was there ever any such dogma in Greece. The myths were not theological in origin, nor were they the (allegorical) expression of a theology developed under other circumstances; they were simply stories about the acts of the gods. It is true that they throw much light on the history of Greek religion—a light, however, which is refracted by the medium through which it passes.

One of the best examples to illustrate the connection of myth and religion is the story of Artemis and Callisto.* Briefly the story is that Callisto, one of the attendants of Artemis, forsook the path of chastity and was punished by being turned into a bear. Now the bear appears as the sacred animal of Artemis in the worship at Brauron; further, Callisto, "most beautiful," is an epithet applied to Artemis herself; finally, Artemis, the goddess of wild nature, had

* K. O. Müller, *Prolegomena*, 73 f.

come to be worshiped in Greece as the chaste huntress. Thus all the elements of the myth were found in religious belief, though their order and connection was essentially different. We may go further and say that the myth presupposed these elements of religious belief out of which it was constructed by the free play of fantasy. At Eleusis the worship of Demeter and Persephone was illustrated by the story of the Rape of Persephone, the scene of which was pointed out, and by the story of Demeter's visit to the king of this region while searching for her lost daughter. Such myths are clearly narratives created by the imagination to account for religious practices (ætiological myths). The war dances of the Panathenaic festival demand a reason—they are repetitions of the welcome given the war goddess Athena at her birth. Why should Apollo at Delphi seek purification? The story of the death of Python is developed to explain this sacred drama at Delphi. Sometimes it is possible to argue from the story to the fact, from the story of the conflict of Athena and Poseidon for the Athenian acropolis to the supposed fact that worshipers of Athena who brought the olive tree displaced at this point an earlier worship of the god of the salt waters; or from the story of human sacrifices by Lycaon and Athamas to a practice that was decadent or extinct in the historic period. In a word religious ritual was explained as the result of mythical history. The truth is that in general the myths grew out of the popular demand for some narrative to explain the worship. They are the outcome of the worship, not the historic cause of the worship.

The essential difference between the worship of the gods and the interest in myths about the gods cannot be too strongly emphasized. The gods of worship were by their very nature local, centering their activity at that particular point where worshipers gathered to do them reverence. But in myth the gods were just as universal as was the

conception of the world among those who told the myths. For a pastoral people in the valleys of Arcadia stories of the gods would hardly reach beyond the mountains which made their horizon; but for the Athens, which repulsed Persia, the gods of myth were limited only by the Mediterranean world. The gods of worship were more or less vague spirits, powers to bless their observant followers and injure those who neglected them; in myths the gods were given all but human form and set in the human relationships of the family. A certain ethical spirit was early developed in the relation of the god to his worshiper; on the other hand the gods of myth were all but free from the laws of human morality. In a word the content of myth was largely derived from religion, but it was treated with the utmost freedom to meet the special interest of those who told the myths.

But while myth and worship represent different interests of the human mind, the reaction of the one on the other never ceased. Pindar is by no means the only poet who revised myths to bring them into closer contact with religion; more and more the worshiper thought of his gods in the form that myth had given them. In particular the intimate connection of the two is in part explained by the transmission of myth at religious centers. Festivals at Olympia and Delphi and the Isthmus were centers for all forms of intercourse, social and commercial as well as religious. Citizens, priests, and visitors would interchange religious narratives, or find recreation in listening to the bards who recited them. Thus the stories of a given shrine would be developed, disseminated, and connected with stories of other origin. By the new myths which the ritual suggested and by the opportunities festivals offered for the growth and spread of myths, such religious centers as Delphi were almost as important for mythology as for religion.

It appears that while myths have absolutely no dogmatic authority, they do express in many instances the worshiper's conception of his god. Patient inquiry may elicit evidence as to the character of the religious emotions, and as to the forms of ritual, though all such evidence must be treated with caution.

5. **Origin and Development of Myths.** — It belongs to the very nature of myths that they were accepted as true. The consideration of this fact leads the student to hold that much the same influences start the myth originally and determine the lines of its later development. For this belief in myths cannot rest on external authority. No authority exists which could enforce belief in such quaint stories among any people. We are surprised that the Greeks believed the myth of Cronus and his children, of Perseus and the Medusa, of Atlas supporting the heavens. That such belief should ever have rested on the authority of any one man is absolutely incredible; nor can we imagine that any priests or other group of men should have been able to compel belief in these myths.

The fact remains that the myths were long believed to be true, sometimes even when a Simonides had taken them from the people and given them poetic form. Such faith can be accounted for only on the supposition that the myth is a product of the people, not the creation of one individual. It rests not on the authority of one or more men, but rather on the authority of the whole community in which the myth has arisen. In other words myths, like fashions, like the manners and laws of primitive peoples, are authoritative because they have grown up to express the conceptions of the social mind. The manners, if not the morals, of the present day are a growth resting on the same kind of authority; long before the family was protected by law, it had grown to be an institution hedged about by the power of the community. To explain belief in myths one must

study their origin and development. It becomes evident that this case of social authority is like other cases; in short myths are believed because their origin is due to widely operating motives, and because the course of this development is determined at each step by some widely operative influence.

It is hardly possible to trace this process with confidence in any given case, yet some examples may serve to make clearer the meaning of this principle. The Greeks, like the Australians, had a myth explaining the origin of fire as due to theft from the heavens. Fire, so important to man, was no doubt equally prized by the gods, who showed it to him as the sun rose each day, but kept it out of his reach. How should it have been gained from such jealous gods but by theft? Or, we may take the story of the amours of Zeus. The question as to the origin of man was commonly answered by assigning him a divine lineage, a lineage which kings at least traced back to the king of the gods. When myths of different localities were worked into one system, it involved a large number of marriages on the part of Zeus. We need not wonder that Hera's jealousy kept pace with the increasing number of wives assigned to Zeus, nor that his own character suffered; though in reality the whole cause of the myths was doubtless the

FIG. 3.—RELIEF FROM MANTINEA (fourth century B. C.?).

Apollo is playing the lyre and Marsyas the double flute; between them stands a slave with his knife ready to flay Marsyas.

desire of many royal families to trace their line back to the divine king.

NOTE.—K. O. Müller* undertakes to explain the story of Apollo and Marsyas on similar principles. At feasts of Apollo lyres furnished music, so that the invention of the lyre was assigned to Apollo; for a similar reason the invention of the flute was assigned to the Phrygian god Marsyas. Such was the dislike of the early Greeks for flute music that when the two peoples met in Asia Minor, Apollo was represented as conquering Marsyas in a musical contest of their respective instruments. Now skins (wine bottles) which hung in the grotto by the river Marsyas were known as "skins of Marsyas," for this god was a lover of wine. But when the Greeks found a "skin of Marsyas" hanging there, and the story of Apollo's victory over Marsyas had become current, it was a simple inference that Apollo had punished his competitor by flaying him. This interpretation is valuable mainly as illustrating the truth that each stage in the development of a myth is determined by some suggestion which appealed with equal force to narrator and hearers.

The legend of one Bishop Canner in a New England city can be traced with more confidence as an illustration of the same principle. The writer was told that Canner Street was named for a Bishop Canner, but nothing else could be learned about this mythical bishop. Inquiry showed that a Canner's Pond had once existed in this vicinity, that this was earlier known as "Canys Pond," and that the surveyor had put down this name on the original map of the region because he had found a dead dog while making the survey. Each step from the dead dog to the name of a person influential enough to have given his name to the street was taken because it was the "only natural thing to do." †

In spite of the uncertainty which necessarily attends the explanation of any particular myth, the principle holds good that myths arise under a sort of social law. They are generally accepted as true because each step in their development is determined by conditions which influence narrator and hearers alike, because "it is the only natural thing to do." The myth, then, is a social product, believed because it is made by a people and not by any individual.

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* *Prolegomena*, 113 f.

† Cf. Max Müller, *Science of Language*, II, 468.

In the process of the development of myth there is one clearly marked stage; namely, the time when myths begin to be told outside their original habitat. Granted that each locality has a series of myths more or less fully developed, so soon as the intercourse between these localities becomes general, myths will follow in the track of commerce. Some myths will not interest outsiders; others will be accepted without material change; while many will be modified as they come in contact with similar myths told elsewhere. The change thus begun may be described as threefold: (*a*) The region in which a particular myth is told in somewhat the same form becomes much larger. The story of the birth of Dionysus, for example, spreads to many points, and the place of his birth, "Nysa," is claimed by many different shrines. The Rape of Persephone may have belonged to some one locality; it became a possession of the Greek world. Inasmuch as religion lags far behind mythology in this generalization of the gods, we have some evidence as to different stages in the process. The gods of Arcadia, for example, or the gods of central Greece, do not represent the same series as the gods of Thessaly. Speaking broadly, we know only those myths that were received outside the locality where they originated. (*b*) But as the myths are told more widely, they must be so modified as to be intelligible. The king of the gods may have been generally known as Zeus, but his wives varied; Leto and Dione and Maia fall into the background before Hera. The goddess of nature life comes to be known as Artemis, the god of the vine as Dionysus, the god of flocks as Apollo (or Hermes or Pan). Even when names do not change, the gods will lose their connection with some one shrine where they have been worshiped and will tend to assume a more universal form. And the stories of these gods will be modified by the omission of some contradictions and by the accretion of new elements, always under the law that what interests

the audience will be retained. The second phase of this change is that the character of myths becomes more universal. (*c*) Partly as the result of this change, in that gods are cut loose from one shrine to become members of a divine world, there appears a tendency toward a general system or relationship of the gods which shall be universally recognized. Zeus and Hera are of course at the head of this system; other divinities take their place in the Olympian court, arranged not by localities but by an assumed relationship to Zeus; finally even the lesser spirits are received in the universal council of the gods—and the foundation is laid for the later theogony. The grouping of the gods in six pairs was part of the same movement, though it was less important for mythology than for religion. At Athens part of an altar to the twelve gods has been found. Here the list was probably Zeus, Hera; Poseidon, Demeter; Hephæstus, Athena; Apollo, Artemis; Ares, Aphrodite; Hermes, Hestia.

If we assume that the social factor is controlling in the origin and development of myths, it will be no surprise that myths reflect in detail the social life that gave them birth.* Perhaps the relations of Zeus and Hera give a better idea of the Homeric family than the picture of the court of Menelaüs and Helen. It has been claimed, though the claim is not proved, that such figures as Leto and Demeter belong to the period of the "matriarchal family." Certainly Achilles and Odysseus represent real ideals of Greek life. Hermes is now the shepherd, now the cunning merchant, according to the pursuits of his worshipers.†

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* K. O. Müller, *Prolegomena*, 76.

† The data do not exist for writing in detail the history of the Greek gods, but it is abundantly clear that each stage in civilization left its mark on them. In Artemis the huntress, in whose honor the Athenians celebrated a "stag hunt" festival long after stag hunting ceased to have any place in their secular life, are traces of a "mother of wild beasts"

Sometimes a myth comes down fraught with strange crude elements, out of touch with later life, for its meaning was no longer understood by those who repeated it; or, again, its ideas keep in touch with real life and are modified in accordance with social changes. That Athena becomes the patron goddess of the Athenian empire, and Zeus a pan-Hellenic god; that the growing horror at murder and the demand for its expiation come to be the controlling factors in the Orestes myth; that the moral character of the gods is more or less modified as human standards vary—these are but examples of the manner in which the myths reflect the social life of different periods. What has been said of the spread of myths, their increasing universality, and the tendency to reduce them to a system, finds its explanation in the history of Greek society; for the development of myths follows the same lines as the development of other phases of civilization.

6. **Data for the Study of Myths.**—The most important source for our knowledge of Greek and Roman myths is of course the literature of Greece and Rome in which these myths are narrated. If the first step in the development of myth is the local stage, and the second the stage in which they are widely told and brought into some sort of system, their reception into literature may be termed the third step. Nor is this step unimportant. In fact it entirely changes the character of myth, and that for two reasons: (*a*) The myth is received into literature not because of its truth, but because of its beauty, and probably

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whom a hunting people honored. Not only Pan, but Hermes and even Apollo were once the gods of a pastoral people. Demeter was always the grain goddess, and Dionysus became the god of the vine. We know something of many other gods who were worshiped by those Greeks that lived by agriculture. And with the development of a more complex social life the nature and interests of the gods developed *pari passu* with those of their worshipers.

it is not accepted as true by most readers; (*b*) the writer, whether or not he believes the myth to be true, feels at liberty to adapt it to his literary ends, or else he cannot use it at all. Consequently the literary statement of myth must be used with due allowance for the special character of the literature in which it occurs. In order to get at the myth in its living form it will be necessary to work back through the literature to what the poet or the historian found and modified to suit his particular purpose.

In prose the changes were relatively less than in poetry. The so-called "logographi"—for example, Pherecydes and Hellanicus—who attempted to write the history of particular localities, made much use of myths. These they took from the people, condensed, and arranged in local cycles. It is necessary to allow for this systematizing, and sometimes for a tendency to leave out or explain the marvelous; otherwise we might use this sort of literature with some confidence. Unfortunately it has come down only in fragments. The pragmatic use of myth by the historians, the allegorizing of philosophers, the attempt at picturesque embellishment by the rhetoricians, make it more difficult to use their writings as sources.

The poetry of Hesiod is unique in that it retells stories of the gods from bards who had done much to develop a theogony. The Homeric poems also are the poetry of the people, but here the literary spirit controls. The battles of the *Iliad* are grouped about a literary theme with its own psychological and social interest. The story of the occasion of Achilles's wrath,* of the embassy which sought to appease it,† or again of the sending of Patroclus into the fight ‡—each is worked up with such detail of psychological suggestion as to take it out of the class of popular myths into the range of literary masterpieces. The story was

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* *Iliad*, I. † *Iliad*, IX. ‡ *Iliad*, XVI.

told in myth, but the richly developed appeal to the emotions of the hearer as well as the perfect form belong to the domain of literary art. When the lyric poet handles a myth he takes the same liberties. He selects to suit his purpose; he embellishes his myth; or again he criticises it at will. It is in the drama, however, that the freedom of the poet is most marked. That widely spread story of the theft of fire is hardly recognized in the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, for the play of human emotion and the conflict of social ideals is the poet's real theme. From the *Antigone* of Sophocles or the *Medea* of Euripides it is a far cry to the original myths of Thebes or Corinth, with which these dramas deal.

The problem is very different but no less difficult when the student takes up the distinctly mythological treatises in prose or poetry. Here one finds data from various sources, sometimes repeated side by side without criticism, sometimes combined with even less critical understanding. To use the poems of Apollonius or Nonnius or Ovid, the treatises of Apollodorus or Hyginus, as sources for a knowledge of the myths told by the people of Greece is a most delicate task. The fact that much of this material is preserved only in excerpts (for example, in the scholia or notes on other literature) does not make the task any the easier. Not only the method of the student, but even the particular aim which he has in mind, requires careful definition before such a task can be successfully undertaken.

Another series of records, parallel to those contained in literature, throws light on the earlier history of Greek myths. The painter, the sculptor, the workers in clay and in metal, drew their artistic inspiration from this world of the imagination. Perhaps because for them gods and heroes were the most natural types of the ideal, it is gods and heroes rather than men who for a long time furnished the artist with his subjects. And because these

artists were often humble artisans whose work was intended to appeal to the common people, the products of their handicraft furnish a valuable commentary on popular belief. The independence of literary traditions, and the long period through which this record extends, make it doubly valuable. Yet the artist has a language of his own which cannot be read without special study. The quaint, rude figures cut on early gems or painted on pottery seem only quaint at first glance: there is no effort for perspective; strange conventions make the human figure anything but natural; only some sure and graceful lines give a hint of artistic power; to grasp the artist's meaning and interpret it in terms of popular belief demands patient, persistent effort.

The forms of artistic expression depended on the materials used and on the traditions under which the artist worked. It is natural that painting (on plastered walls and on pottery), relief work, inlaid work, or engraving on metal, carved gems, and small pottery figures should long precede elaborate attempts to produce statues of marble or bronze, or large reliefs in stone. Because of the greater value of the material the remains of metal work from the earlier periods are relatively scanty, and they prove of less value for mythology than for the history of art. For mythology the most important data are to be gained (1) from painted pottery, the history of which may be followed with some accuracy for two millenniums, and later (2) from sculpture in the round. The long series of carved gems is extremely interesting, but it has not yet been possible to bring the fantastic figures on earlier gems into close relation with popular belief. Later gems and coins are important mainly for the light they throw on sculpture that has been lost.

The fragments of wall paintings from early ages in Greece have no special meaning for mythology. The main series of wall paintings now extant, those found in Pom-

peii, are largely mythological; but their subject matter is drawn mainly from literary sources. It is the painted pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. which is most helpful in giving us an insight into the myths as told by the people of that time. The scenes on these vases were limited usually to four or five figures by the size of the space to be decorated; and the figures, rather hastily drawn in silhouette, attempt no nice characterization of the persons represented; yet by the use of symbols or written names the artist leaves us in no doubt as to his meaning. Such local myths as the story of the marriage of Athena and Heracles are known only from this source. On vases of the fifth and fourth centuries myths are not so commonly represented. Where they are found the artist has expressed more accurately, in the more delicate workmanship of the red figures, the nature of the gods and heroes who appear.

The sculptured reliefs with which temples and public buildings were adorned ordinarily represented some mythical theme. The range of these themes was narrow, and the treatment was such as to emphasize some ethical sentiment. So the battle of the gods and giants, of the Lapiths and Centaurs, or of the Athenians and Amazons, represented the ultimate victory of law and order over unrestrained violence. Just in so far as these reliefs inspired the myths with higher meaning, they removed the myth from its natural setting among the people.

Sculpture in the round is the point where religion and mythology come into closest contact. The great temple statues expressed for the people their conception of the gods, and gave to these objects of worship a concrete form. Yet Pheidias did not make his statue of Olympian Zeus without being influenced both by the popular myths of Zeus and by the literary form of these same myths. In the purely decorative statues of the fourth century and later centuries

the gods were treated more as mythical beings, far less as objects of worship. In such statues is found the fullest expression of that spiritual personality in the development of which myths had played so large a part. Inevitably we turn to the Aphrodite of Melos or to the Hermes of Praxiteles when we want to know the outcome of mythology in its treatment of the gods.

A word is necessary with reference to the standpoint of the artist in different periods. During the seventh and sixth centuries the vase painter stands in close touch with popular belief; he finds it necessary to use symbols to differentiate his rude, stiff figures; his work is at first distinctly local in its range. In the fifth century the painter and the sculptor are working on a far higher plane. Their gods are universal beings, rich in fine poetic meaning, yet not dissociated from popular belief and worship. As time goes on, the human values of the gods are emphasized; imagination is not restrained by tradition, so long as the divine ideals appeal to human nature. The stiff bearded figure of Apollo playing the lyre,* the "Palladium" of Trojan legend,† the Heracles engaged in homely labors ‡ mark the earlier stage; in the fifth century we find the god Apollo quelling the attack of the Centaurs on the Lapiths with his extended hand,§ the Athena Parthenos, goddess of war and wisdom,‖ the Heracles who was the ideal of the Dorian warrior; finally the Apollo Belvedere ¶ expresses the god's fine scorn for puny human enemies, an Athena Hygieia ** is the gentle spirit of healing, the Farnese Heracles †† represents the weariness of a hero whose mighty

* Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, S. 96, Fig. 102.
† Ibid., S. 1147, Fig. 1339. ‡ Ibid., S. 655, Fig. 722.
§ Fig. 29 (Chap. IV, p. 123). ‖ Fig. 24 (Chap. III, p. 115).
¶ Fig. 5 (Chap. I, p. 48).
** *Monumenti dell' Instituto* IX, Tav. 49 (Vatican).
†† Fig. 102 (Chap. XI, p. 315).

effort has all been spent for the benefit of mankind. Perhaps these illustrations will indicate that the spirit of the artist changed even more than his technic, and that the data from art are useful only when they are critically handled.

7. **Aim and Method in the Study of Myths.**—A small handbook of mythology can give little or nothing as to the history of particular myths. It must often be liable to the charge of inconsistency, for sometimes it is the earlier sometimes the later, form of a myth which has left its impress on later ages. It must be the aim of such a handbook to select, as far as possible, those phases of each myth which have influenced literature and art most deeply, and at the same time to give a fairly complete sketch of the whole range of Greek and Latin myths. The aim of the student of myths is essentially different. For him the myth is a process, not a fact. He seeks to get at the story in its living form as it was given shape and passed from mouth to mouth among the people. All that throws light on its origin and early meaning he collects. He follows its course after it is taken into literature and studies its development under the new condition. Nor is the evolution of a myth less interesting than the evolution of some animal form.

In such a study the initial step is to reproduce as closely as possible the myth as it passed out of the popular consciousness into literature or art. This is the point from which one is to work forward and backward. The main difficulty at this stage is to determine how much is added or modified by the medium through which the myth comes down to us. When once the myth is gained in approximately its popular form, it may be possible without further delay to set it aside as a late arrival from some other country, to be studied according to its source. The essentially Greek myths which remain may be grouped in at least three ways, and they will gain new light from each standpoint.

Though practically all of them are referred to the age before the Fall of Troy, still something may be done to date them. The places mentioned, particularly the colonies, show that some myths took shape at a relatively late period. Even among myths with no evidence of absolute date, some clearly are older than others, and can be better understood in connection with myths of their own period. Secondly, they can be grouped by localities. Theseus belongs to Athens, Perseus to Argos, Dionysus and Heracles are connected with Thebes. Müller has tried to show that Apollo is a Dorian god, while Poseidon was specially honored among the Ionians. Whenever a myth can be traced to its home, a long step has been taken toward a knowledge of its history. Thirdly, myths may be grouped by kind: theogonic (cosmogonic) myths, philosophical and social and political myths, stories of the birth of the gods or of their loves. It becomes evident that similar forces are at work in different localities producing like results; further that myths of the same series are often enriched by the mutual borrowing of incidents originally peculiar to one. As the result of each method of classification some light is gained on the earlier history of myths and on the forces which made them what they are. The history of myths after they are adopted into literature is a simpler matter, but perhaps no less fascinating. The method here is not peculiar, for the student follows the regular lines of literary criticism.

With such a programme as has been outlined, the present handbook has nothing directly to do. Not the history of myths, but the simple statement of myths is attempted; and the one consistent aim is to state them in such a manner as to make evident the influence they have had on art and literature.

8. **Classes of Greek Myths.**—Of the many classifications of myths that have been suggested, some are useful for

purposes of study, others for presentation. Myths may be grouped by the gods or heroes who have a prominent part in them. Experiment proves this method more useful than might be expected. No doubt it is easier to group myths according to particular gods, because it was at the shrines of particular gods that they were given shape. But what is useful for myths of the gods fails in its application to the myths of heroes. Here the classification by locality, proposed above, seems to be the most practical. We shall therefore treat the myths of the gods in Part I, grouping the myths by the gods that figure in them; in Part II the myths of the heroes will include the story of the Trojan war, the story of the Argonauts, and the myths of Argos, Corinth, Thebes, etc.

In the present section certain types of myth are presented under which myths may be grouped for purposes of study, even though the classification is neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive:

(*a*) Of the so-called philosophic myths, such as the story of Er in Plato's *Republic* or the mythical account of the universe in his *Phædo*,* it is unnecessary to speak. The form alone is that of myth, and this form is chosen simply as a mode of literary expression.

(*b*) Cosmogonic (theogonic) myths also are in a sense philosophical. That "Chaos" was first, that Heaven and Earth came next and brought forth later beings, that Love was the potent moving principle in the generation of the gods —these thoughts were made much of by Greek philosophers who perceived their importance. In themselves, however, these are genuine myths, stories of an earlier age prompted by curiosity and narrated for interest in the story. If any emphasis is to be laid on the philosophical content, it is only as showing that the human mind never wholly

* Chap. LVII *et seq.*

neglected those problems which we now call philosophy. Stories about the origin of man, the flood and the new birth of the world from the waters, arose and developed like other myths. The account of the four ages seems to belong to this same category of myths. The small part played in these myths by the gods men worshiped, rather than their philosophic content, separates them from other myths.

(*c*) A large class of myths reproduces the objects and processes in nature so closely that they seem almost to border on allegory. It is said that Endymion is the setting sun watched with love by the moon Selene. Hyacinthus, whom Apollo loved and accidentally slew, is explained as the foliage which the sun fosters and at length burns up when the rains cease. Dionysus is the life present in plants and trees, dying and born again with vegetation—the life which is found in its essence in the wine. The river gods, and the nymphs of stream and meadow and wood are such nature beings. Myths of this class can hardly be called the characteristic Greek myths, nevertheless they are a numerous, clearly defined group. Many of the characters in these myths, as in the myths of the preceding class, are not worshiped; others, like the river gods and Dionysus, are prominent in local worship, but commonly not in the traditional worship of the state; or, to put it in mythological language, they are not properly Olympian gods.

(*d*) A closely allied group of myths deals with conflict and progress through conflict, an idea derived from the observation of nature. Of the three rulers of the gods,—Uranus, Cronus, and Zeus,—each comes into power by forcibly displacing his predecessor. There is progress from shapeless might to defined power, and then to a more or less ethical rule; and this progress involves severe conflict. The battles of the Olympians and the Titans, of the gods and the giants, of Lapiths and Centaurs, are clearly like the

storms and convulsions of nature. As the rending open of the Vale of Tempe converted Thessaly into a fertile plain, so these conflicts resulted in progress of the world to a higher stage of development. The labors of Heracles rest on a thought not so different: that hostile factors in nature may be forcibly overcome for the good of man. While the wars of Greek and barbarian contributed much to the development of such myths, the conception of Titans and earth-born giants marks them as nature myths, and the rock-strewn plain of Thessaly reveals the original character of the conflict.

(*e*) Another series of myths, a series mentioned already more than once in this introduction, gives the sacred stories of particular shrines. The story of the birth of Apollo and Artemis belongs to Delos and embodies the meaning of the local worship; the account of Athena's birth and of her victory over the giants belongs with the Panathenaic festival; at Delphi was told the story of Apollo's acquisition of the oracle and his purification after killing the dragon. The myth of Hyacinthus and his worship near Sparta, the account of Asclepius's birth and the festivals of the healing god at Epidaurus, the visits of Dionysus and the rites performed in his honor (for example, at Icaria)—in each case it is the legend of the shrine that is embodied in myth. These myths concern the gods proper, as the nature myths have to do with spirits of wood and river and spring. It is the side of mythology which comes into closest touch with religion; yet these myths are in a way secondary, the explanation of a developed ritual rather than the free expression of the popular imagination. Consequently they will interest the student of mythology less as they interest the student of religion the more.

(*f*) A final group of myths has to do primarily with political and social relations. Each people, if not each city, has traditions of its origin in the form of myth. The

stories of Cadmus and of the family of Cadmus give the origin and early history of Thebes. Athens also has a mythical history in which the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the city is but one element. Such stories are kept alive and often modified by national pride. They yield some data to the historian; still their primary interest is for the mythologist rather than for the student of politics or history. The instinct to develop myths about the origin of a social group is found in both narrower and broader spheres. All the Hellenes were said to be sons of Hellen; stories about his sons and grandsons explained the different divisions of the Greek race and their relation to each other. If we turn to smaller units, there were many families like the Eumolpidæ at Eleusis or the Butadæ at Athens with myths of their own earlier history. For the colonies such myths almost always existed, myths in which fact and fancy were closely intertwined. It seems reasonable to believe that these myths may yield more important results for the student of mythology than for the student of history; yet inasmuch as the myths of families and of unimportant towns have had so little influence on later thought, they have ordinarily been omitted from this handbook.

The purpose of such a classification as has been suggested is to bring together similar myths for the purpose of comparison and investigation. While it is simply a preliminary step, not an end in itself, still it opens the way for new insight into that strange process by which a people gave half-poetic expression to its whole encyclopedia of knowledge, scientific and philosophical, political and religious.

PART I

MYTHS OF THE GODS

CHAPTER I

THE GODS IN HOMER

And these (Homer and Hesiod) are they who made a system of gods for the Greeks, by giving the gods epithets and assigning their honors and functions and pointing out their nature.—*Herodotus*, III, 53.

1. **Homer and the Greek Gods.**—The Greeks had no Bible. A system of doctrine about the gods, and a book in which that doctrine should find expression, were equally foreign to their thought. But the Greeks had their Homer, their epic of gods and men, and the Homeric poems were studied from the time an Athenian began to learn to read, as the Bible is said to have been studied by our Puritan ancestors. From its code of ethics, crude, noble, sometimes childish, the Greek nation did not completely free itself until it ceased to be Greek. From the Homeric idea of the gods, also, they were never completely free; for these threads run through the whole texture of Greek religion and mythology. Fortunately the Homeric poems were no collections of myths, but rather epics: the stories of the gods are few, and the references to these stories are hardly more than allusions; it is as actors in the drama that we learn to know the gods, and their character in the epic comes to determine in large measure their character in myths. At the risk of some repetition we deem it necessary to devote a separate chapter to the gods in Homer, because the Homeric idea of what a god is and the epic conception of the character of individual gods dominates all Greek thought of the gods.

2. **The Gods in Homer Essentially Human.**—Men are actors in the epic drama, and so are the gods—actors on a plane only a little higher than the plane of men, and actuated by the same passions and desires as men. The word "anthropomorphism" hardly suffices to express the thought; little is said of the human form of the gods, but their whole place in the epic depends on the fact that they have a nature which is essentially human. The gods eat (v, 92)* and sleep (I, 609) as men do, though their food is ambrosia and their drink nectar; not blood but ichor runs in their veins; they may be wounded even by men (V, 337 f.) and require the attendance of Paiëon, the physician of the gods; the goddesses make their toilet to attract their husbands (XIV, 170 f.), as did the Greek women; if Helios did not rise, there would be no day for gods or men (iii, 2, xii, 385). This manner of treating the gods like men is most marked when the gods descend into the Trojan plain and fight, some on the Greek side, some on the Trojan; a theomachy, or battle of the gods, is exceptional, but it is only an exaggeration of the usual point of view (XXI, 385 f.). The gods are called omnipotent (x, 306), but Zeus cannot save Sarpedon or Hector from death, nor can Poseidon slay Odysseus, many as are the troubles he prepares for him on his journey home. The gods know the future (v, 288), but only in the manner that human seers know it; for Zeus himself is deceived by his wife, Poseidon does not know what has happened to Polyphemus till the blinded Cyclops prays to him, Thetis must be told the cause of the grief of Achilles. In a word, the power and the knowledge of the gods are just like man's, but on a larger scale. The same may be said of the passions and sentiments of the gods.

* Books of the *Iliad* are referred to by large Roman numerals, those of the *Odyssey* by small Roman numerals. Passages are quoted from the translation of the *Iliad* by Lang, Leaf, and Myers, and of the *Odyssey* by Butcher and Lang

To the amours of Zeus there is no limit; he has all the liberties of a human prince, only in a larger degree. The gods spend their time at feasts listening to music or chatting or bickering and quarreling (cf. I, end); they are angry when neglected (IX, 533 f.) and execute dire vengeance when their rights are not respected; they even envy men the fame of their deeds, and hate men as Poseidon hated Odysseus (i, 69). As the emotions of a slave are to those of a king, so are the emotions of a king to those of the gods. The thought of a god inevitably follows the lines of human nature, but the conception of gods is nowhere else so purely human as it is in the Homeric poems.

3. **The Difference Between Gods and Men in Homer.**— The essential difference between men and gods as pictured by the epic is plain from what has been already said; it is a difference of degree in potencies that belong to both. Ares is overthrown by Athena in battle and "covers seven roods in his fall" (XXI, 407); when Zeus nodded assent to the request of Thetis, he made great Olympus quake (I, 530); Poseidon went from Samothrace to Ægæ in four strides (XIII, 20) and shouted as loud as nine or ten thousand men (XIV, 148). In a word the gods were indefinitely greater and stronger physically than were men. So in their knowledge of the future, in their control over nature, in their power to love, to envy, or to hate, they far exceeded men. While men were limited to one form, the form of a particular human body, the gods appeared to men in different forms at will, or made their presence known without assuming any particular form. And they were immortal. Not that the poet had in mind here any abstract theory, like Plato's argument that the divine spirit, or soul, and death are incompatible; it is simply that the gods were born long ago, and that they do not live in the fear of any death to come. The goddess Leucothea was once the woman Ino; and by eating divine food, ambrosia,

Odysseus might have been freed from the power of death, so short was the bridge from humanity to divinity at this point also. Still it was fundamental to the nature of the gods as Homer viewed them, that the change to the realm of unreal shades which put an end to all human joy and human endeavor was no factor in their lives.

These were no wooden gods that cared not for man; no gods of magic, either, to be controlled by rite or mystic spell; no gods, one might add, of real religion, for they were far from satisfying the worshiper's ideals of that age. They were actors in the epic drama, genuine actors in a genuine epic, for they shared all the passions and motives which bound together the different factors in its story. And because they were such human gods, the Greek who was brought up on the Homeric poems developed a religion to meet his human needs, and a mythology which found wonderful expression in treating human themes. Moreover, it was this same quality, the essential humanity of the gods in Greek myths, which laid these myths open to the criticism of religious poets like Pindar and of the philosophers from Plato on.

4. **The Relation of the Gods to the World.**—For religion it is even more important to know the relation of God to the world and to man than it is to know the nature of God; for mythology the present question is a subordinate one, except as it throws light on the topic considered in the last section. In nature, in the state, and in the individual, the power of the gods is felt. They freely utilize the physical forces of nature in carrying out their plans. Mists and winds are at the disposal of Apollo or Athena as well as Zeus; thunder is the special manifestation of Zeus's presence; even Helios, the sun, may be hastened on in his course when the gods wish it to be night. Zeus guides the events of history. Troy falls as he purposed (XXI, 418); the wrath of Achilles and its baneful results are part of his

plan (I, 5); under his control Hera and Athena watch over the Greeks, and Apollo and Aphrodite over the Trojans. And all that occurs in the individual's life is referred to the gods. Under their care Telemachus has grown up like the slender shoot of a tree (xiv, 175); the beauty of Paris is from Aphrodite (III, 54), the might of Ajax from a god (VII, 288); and when Glaucus makes a bad bargain in exchanging his armor, it is because Zeus took away his good sense (VI, 234). "Now to one and now to another Zeus gives good and evil, for to him all things are possible" (iv, 236); "for two urns stand upon the floor of Zeus filled with his evil gifts, and one with blessings; to whomsoever Zeus . . . dealeth a mingled lot, that man chanceth now upon ill and now again upon good, but to whom he giveth but of the bad kind, him he bringeth to scorn, and evil famine chaseth him over the goodly earth, and he is a wanderer honored of neither gods nor men" (XXIV, 527 f.). All this is important to mythology for two reasons. It makes still more clear the human character and interests of those divine beings with which the Greek peopled his world: they rule like human kings, but on a higher plane; and secondly it means that all of nature and of history falls within the range of the stories about these gods.

The very question as to the relation of the gods to fate (*Moira, Aisa*), a question that has been the subject of much debate, yields a similar result with reference to mythology. Are the gods under fate? Or is fate but the expression of the divine will? Everything that happens on the Trojan plain is referred to divine purpose; at the same time Zeus does not feel free to save his son Sarpedon when his fate comes to die (XVI, 433 f.); Ares acts *ὑπὲρ μόρον*, "beyond his due lot," and suffers for it, in exactly the same way that Patroclus goes too far, and for Patroclus the penalty is death. *Moira* is a sort of natural law: man or god may

act contrary to it; and if he does, man or god, the result is the same—he pays the penalty for his folly.

5. **The Relation of the Gods to One Another.**—While there is no developed theogony, no full account of the birth and family relations of the gods, they are pictured as belonging to one royal family. Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, Hera, Leto, etc., are children of Cronus and Rhea, Titans by birth but not by lot; Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Athena are children of Zeus, the second generation of Homer's gods; and even the nymphs of the sea or wood, the river gods, and the lesser attendants of the gods have a place, often not clearly defined, in the divine family. The relations of Zeus and Athena, the daughter of his brain, are particularly intimate (XIX, 340 f., XXII, 183); Apollo is an obedient son of Zeus (XVI, 666); and Aphrodite comes to her mother Dione for comfort when she has been wounded in battle (V, 370). Hera is a queen among the gods as Helen among men, and the picture of the queen bickering with her husband (I, end) or trying to deceive and circumvent him (XIV, 153 f.) must have been particularly entertaining to women of rank who listened to the story of the bard. The social relations of the gods, also, are patterned after human society. The human prince gathered his relatives and retainers about him at the feast: thus the gods gathered in the palace of Zeus on Olympus in long feasts at which the affairs of the divine kingdom might be discussed in the intervals of eating and of music. At such a feast Zeus "essayed to provoke Hera with vexing words" (IV, 1 f.); in this he succeeded, but finally he yielded to her wishes and sent Athena to have the truce broken. Other councils are not described as feasts, but the chief actors are the same, and they are still such councils as Menelaus might summon in the palace at Sparta, or Odysseus at Ithaca. The human ruler also might summon an *ekklesia* or assembly of all his free warriors. The analogy between

human princes and the gods does not stop with the *boule* or council of the gods; for in one instance (XX, 1 f.) Zeus calls a full assembly to which every being with divine rights is summoned, and announces that the gods may enter the battlefield to fight at will on either side. The power of Zeus among the gods is greater than that of Agamemnon or Odysseus among their princes, and yet the basis on which it rests is the same. In a word the family, the social life, and the political relations of the gods are developed on the same plan as the relations of the princes before whom the bard might sing these epic lays.

6. **Individual Gods: Zeus and Hera.**—The system of epic gods centers to a remarkable degree in Zeus. His power so far exceeds that of the other gods, he alone is so far responsible for the course of events in the world, that we seem almost to be dealing with monotheism. Indeed it is characteristic of Greek thought of the gods generally to emphasize a unity in the world of the gods as the basis of the unity in our human world. Zeus is the "father of gods and men," ruling them all by his power and his wisdom, perforce respected by gods and worshiped by men, and manifesting himself to man in special manner through phenomena in the heavens. Each of these points deserves a word of explanation.

(*a*) Cronus the father of Zeus, Poseidon, Hera, etc., have been dethroned; Zeus as the elder brother of this set of divinities and as the father of Athena, Apollo, Aphrodite, etc., is the head of the household. He is the "father of the gods" as is no other god, for the children of Apollo or Poseidon or Aphrodite are not received among the Olympian divinities. Among men many families traced their lineage back directly to Zeus himself, particularly the families of Priam (XX, 215 f.), Minos (XIII, 450), and other kings. He is the "father of men" in a more general sense also, in that he watches over them as sons.

(*b*) Zeus rules among the gods with an absolute sway. Once his realm was threatened (I, 396 f.) "when the other Olympians would have bound him, even Hera and Poseidon and Pallas Athena"; but Thetis saved him by summoning "him of the hundred arms whom gods call Briareüs." All the gods and goddesses may join in seeking to pull Zeus from heaven with a rope of gold, but in this tug of war he boasts that he will come off the victor (VIII, 20 f.). He may be deceived temporarily (XIV), but nothing checks his purpose for long. In general the gods can only murmur disapproval, or suggest the advisability of some other plan (XXII, 178). Among men all that happens is referred to Zeus. In the *Odyssey* this reference is most noticeable when some hero is narrating his experiences (xiv, 235; xvii, 425). The battles in the *Iliad* are described as constantly under the control of Zeus: he may turn his attention away for a time (XIII, 1 f.), or Hera may lull him to sleep, but soon he assumes the direction of affairs again. But while other gods themselves go down in the turmoil and strife to encourage their favorite heroes, Zeus accomplishes his will without leaving his seat on Ida; his simple volition turns the tide of battle, or he sends other gods to do his bidding. In particular it appears that the principles of justice among men are under the protection of Zeus: he exhibits his "wrath and anger against men who judge crooked judgments forcibly in the assembly, and drive justice out, and reck not of the vengeance of the gods" (XVI, 385 f.). Kings "by Zeus's command watch over the traditions" (I, 238), and the honor due to kings is appointed by Zeus (VI, 158 f.).

(*c*) Zeus is the only one of the Olympian gods who has any close connection with the world of nature. Day and night are from him (xiv, 93). He is the "cloud-gatherer," and from the "clouds of Zeus" come wind (v, 305) and rain (XVI, 384) and snow (XIX, 357). He delights in the

thunder and hurls the lightning—the "lightning that Kronion seizes in his hand and brandishes from radiant Olympus, showing forth the sign to mortal men; and far seen are the flames thereof" (XIII, 242). The eagle appears in the sky as the bird of Zeus, and is the sure omen of his will (VIII, 247 f.; ii, 146 f.). So it is the son of Cronus the crooked counselor that "sendeth a star, a portent for mariners or a wide host of men, bright-shining, and therefrom are scattered sparks in multitude" (IV, 75). While it is probable that Zeus was once the sky worshiped as a god, in the Homeric poems he is a person just like the other gods, except that he alone manifests himself in the sky.

In general the epic demands gods as superhuman actors in its drama, rather than as divinities to be worshiped. When men do engage in worship, it is quite generally offered to Zeus. Zeus of Dodona is the god of Achilles who can hear him from the Trojan plain as well as from Thessaly (XVI, 225 f.); family worship is offered to Zeus (XI, 772 f.); to Zeus Agamemnon and other kings pray (II, 412); he presides over treaties between nations (III, 105 f.); strangers are under his special protection (ix, 270). The other gods take sides in the Trojan war, Zeus stands back of all as the final arbiter; while he takes a most important part in the development of the epic action, he is more than a mere actor; far more than other members of the Olympic family he deserves the name of god.

Hera, the wife of Zeus, appears as his female counterpart. The winds obey her will (XV, 26 f.); she too thunders (XI, 45); and when she enters the gathering of the immortal gods on steep Olympus, they all rise up together as before Zeus himself (XV, 85). She is a real woman among the gods, making her toilet with the greatest care (XIV, 175) and seeking to control her husband by indirect means when force is of no avail. As wife and queen she presides over

the Olympian court, but she often quarrels with Zeus; and once, we are told, when she had tricked him most successfully, she was punished by being suspended from heaven with golden anvils hung to her feet (XV, 18). There is almost no reference in the poems to the physical form of Zeus, but Hera has the flashing eyes of a bull, and fair white arms; it is only four or five steps for her from Olympus to the Trojan plain, and her shout is as loud as that of fifty men (V, 784). In the *Iliad* Hera and Athena are the special patrons of the Greeks; while Hera does not share the impartiality of Zeus, she is like him in that she remains away from the actual battle before the walls of Troy and interferes only through the person of Athena or of Poseidon. From the standpoint of the epic, Argos is the most important seat of the worship of Hera.

FIG. 4.—METOPE FROM A TEMPLE AT SELINUS IN SICILY (fifth century B.C.).
Zeus, seated on a rock, holds before him his bride Hera to view her charms.

7. **Athena; Hephæstus; Hebe.**—Homer does not tell the story of the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, but he describes her as his daughter and as the god most like Zeus himself. "Only her thou chastenest not, neither in deed nor word, but settest her on, because this pestilent

one is thine offspring"—so speaks Ares to Zeus (V, 879); and when on another occasion Athena objects to the proposal of Zeus to save Hector, he answers her: "Be of good cheer, Trito-born, dear child; not in full earnest speak I, and I would fain be kind to thee; do as seemeth good to thy mind and draw not back." Athena is Zeus's messenger when he wishes to have the truce broken (IV, 70 f.). Close as is her sympathy for the Greeks, only once does she set out to aid them against her father's will (VIII, 350 f.). She clothes herself in a rainbow cloud (XVII, 551) or sends a bird through the sky as a sign (X, 275), or thunders, as does Zeus himself. Athena differs from Zeus, however, in that she is a real war goddess. She "put on the tunic of Zeus, the cloud-gatherer, and arrayed herself in her armor for dolorous battle; about her shoulders cast she the tasseled ægis terrible, whereon is Panic as a crown all round about, and Strife is therein and Valour and horrible Onslaught withal, and therein is the terrible Gorgon head, dreadful and grim, portent of ægis-bearing Zeus. Upon the flaming chariot set she her foot, and grasped her heavy spear, great and stout, wherewith she vanquisheth the ranks of men, even of heroes with whom she of the awful sire is wroth" (V, 736). The "Driver of the spoil," she urges on the Greek heroes, inspires them with courage, and answers their prayers in battle. In the *Odyssey* Athena plays a more kindly part. With Hephæstus she is the patron of the crafts (vi, 232), particularly of female arts (xx, 72). Her care for Odysseus is the poet's special theme. She appears now as a companion prince (i, 102, f.), now as a woman "fair and tall and skilled in splendid handiwork" (xiii, 290), or as a woman of the people "a young maiden carrying a pitcher" (vii, 20); some change, as to a bird flying away (xxii, 240), or from a man to a woman, perhaps indicates her divine nature. The hand of this patron deity is evident in all the poem.

Hephæstus, son of Zeus and Hera, is the smith and artisan among the gods—a lame smith, as often the lame man assumed this calling when he could not compete with his companions in hunting or in the care of the herds. On Olympus Hephæstus bustles about puffing, till the gods laugh at his awkward figure; and he tells of the time when Zeus hurled him out of heaven, "All day I flew, and at the set of sun I fell in Lemnos, and little life was in me" (I, 591 f.); or, as Milton* paraphrases it:

> "He fell
> From heaven, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
> Sheer o'er the crystal battlements; from morn
> To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
> A summer's day; and with the setting sun
> Dropt from the zenith like a falling star
> On Lemnos the Ægæan isle."

It was Hephæstus who made the curiously wrought scepter of Agamemnon (II, 101), the chamber of Hera with secret lock (XIV, 166), and palaces for all the gods (XX, 11 f.). Hephæstus is the fire which overcomes the Scamander when that river attacks Achilles. It is Hephæstus to whom Thetis comes to obtain a new armor for her son Achilles; he (XVIII, 410) "from the anvil rose limping, a huge bulk, but under him his slender legs moved nimbly," and he went to welcome her, and "there were handmaidens of the god that moved to help their lord, the semblances of living maids," his handiwork. The remainder of the book, a passage too long to quote, describes in detail the making of the new arms for Achilles. To the skill of the smith, god or man, this age paid special honor.

Hebe.—Hebe "with the fair ankles" is the daughter of Zeus and Hera, the attendant of Hera (V, 722), and the

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* *Paradise Lost*, I, 740 f.

wife of the Heracles who has become a god. Now Hebe, now Ganymedes, is the cupbearer of the gods, both of them representing the ideal of beautiful youth. In spite of her high lineage, Hebe is distinctly a minor deity with small place in the action of the poem.

8. **Leto; Apollo; Artemis; Hermes; Iris.**—Next in honor to Hera among the wives of Zeus (xi, 580) is Leto, and with this difference, that Hera is properly the queen, while the honor of Leto is a light reflected from her children. The palm on Delos, later celebrated in the story of Apollo's birth, is mentioned in the *Odyssey* (vi, 162). That story is told only by later writers; the presence of Leto in battle with her children (XX, 38), her delight in Artemis coursing with the nymphs (vi, 106), and the respect which Zeus shows her (e. g. XIV, 327), are about all that is told of her by the epic.

FIG. 5.—THE APOLLO BELVEDERE, NOW IN THE VATICAN (marble copy of a bronze statue).

The archer-god watches disdainfully the effect of an arrow upon his enemies.

Apollo, on the other hand, is one of the most important actors in the *Iliad.* From the picture in the first book, of the god as he "came down from the peaks of Olympus, bearing on his shoulders his bow and covered quiver; and the arrows clanged on his shoulders in his wrath as the god moved, and he descended like the night," or the god to

whom Glaucus prayed (XVI, 513), it is a long distance to the Apollo who came up behind Patroclus in a thick mist and smote the helmet from his head and dazed him so that one of the Trojans could kill him (XVI, 791). The common function of Apollo in the poem is to execute some command of Zeus, as in Book XVI, or of his own will to stir up the Trojans to battle (XVII, 325). He sends a plague on the Greek camp at the beginning of the *Iliad*, and he is the god who causes a painless death for men (vii, 64). At the same time he is the patron of youth (xix, 86), and the special god of archery (II, 827). Prophecy, the revelation of his father's will, is his proper function, whether it be at rocky Pytho (IX, 405), or through some seer (I, 86), or by a bird in the sky (xv, 526). He is the bard's patron (viii, 488) and the leader of the Muses on Olympus (I, 604). Homer, it so happens, mentions a series of myths in which Apollo figures. It is as a shepherd god that he kept the flocks of Eumelus and again of Laomedon (II, 766; XXI, 448). He helped Poseidon build the walls of Troy (VII, 452). Homer knows the story of Marpessa who preferred her human lover to Apollo—"Marpessa fair-ankled daughter of Euenus, and Idas that was strongest of men that were then upon the earth; he it was that took the bow to face the king Phœbus Apollo for the sake of the fair-ankled damsel" (IX, 556 f.). And he tells the story of Otus and Ephialtes who strove "to pile Ossa on Olympus, and on Ossa Pelion with the trembling forest leaves, that there might be a pathway to the sky," but Apollo destroyed them both while still in their youth. In spite of the references to these myths and to the worship of Apollo, the epic poet treated Apollo primarily as an actor in the story of the fall of Troy.

Artemis, for Homer, is the female counterpart of her brother, Apollo. The "bearer of the bow," she joins her brother in battle; and when he brings away the wounded

Æneas, she aids in restoring him (V, 445). As Apollo's arrows bring swift death to men, so the sudden death of women is referred to the shafts of Artemis (VI, 428; xi, 324). Apollo is quick to avenge the insult to Chryses, his priest; and Artemis sends the Calydonian boar, "for Artemis of the golden throne had brought a plague upon them, in wrath that Œneus offered her not the harvest first-fruits on the fat of his garden land . . . the Archer-goddess was wroth and sent against him a creature of heaven, a fierce wild boar, that wrought sore ill continually on Œneus's garden land" (IX, 533). This story of the boar and the story of Niobe's punishment are the two important myths mentioned by Homer in which Artemis bears a part. There is another side to the nature of Artemis, where her character comes out more clearly. She is the beautiful chaste maiden who delights in hunting with her attendants. She is the "queen of wild beasts." Hera upbraids her for appearing in the battle before Troy: "Truly it were better on the mountains to slay wild beasts and deer than to fight amain with mightier than thou" (XXI, 485); and it is said of a hunter: "Artemis herself had taught him to shoot all manner of wild things that the mountain forest breedeth" (V, 51). More than once the chaste goddess is chosen as the ideal of maidenly beauty. So it is said of Nausicaä: "Even as Artemis the archer moveth down the mountain, either along the ridges of lofty Taÿgetus or Erymanthus, taking her pastime in the chase of boars and swift deer, and with her the wood nymphs disport them, the daughters of Zeus, lord of the ægis, and Leto is glad at heart, while high over all she rears her head and brows, and easily she may be known—but all are fair; even so the girl outshone her maiden company" (vi, 102 f.).

Hermes, like Apollo, represents the ideal of perfect youth among the gods; but Hermes stands in closer connection with

the daily life of the people. He, too, executes the will of Zeus; he is more frankly a messenger with herald's staff and divine sandals, but his work is more than that of a mere messenger. It is Hermes whom Zeus sends to conduct Priam to the tent of Achilles (XXIV), and to his guidance and care is due the success of the journey. Hermes is a diplomat for Zeus, and to men he grants skill in underhand arts—in theft and in false swearing (xix, 394). Messenger, diplomat, and artist in deceit, Hermes is the traveler's god. His journeys are not limited to this earth, for the souls go down to Hades conducted by him, and at Athena's bidding he helps Heracles bring up the dog Cerberus from the underworld. He is the shepherd's god, too, who with the nymphs receives the sacrifice of the swineherd (xiv, 434) and prospers the herds of the rich (XIV, 489). He is not a god of warriors and has no large place in the *Iliad*; but the merchant, the journeyman, and the countryman are under his protection; he is the patron and the ideal of the youth of the lower classes.

The rainbow is a sign from the gods, and it is **Iris,** the rainbow, who is the proper messenger of the gods in the epic. She is not mentioned in the *Odyssey*, but in the battles of the *Iliad* she checks Hera and Athena with a message from Zeus (VIII, 398); she drives the chariot which bears the wounded Aphrodite to Olympus (V, 353); it is she who summons Helen to behold the duel between her present and her former husbands (III, 121). Golden-winged, wind-footed, she goes swift as a storm approaching from the north to fulfill the mandate of Zeus. In that she is a mere messenger, and a messenger in affairs connected with war, she differs from Hermes.

9. **Aphrodite; Ares.**—Aphrodite is in everything except her beauty a striking contrast to the other goddesses of Olympus. "Not to thee, dear child, are deeds of war allotted," Zeus tenderly says when she returns wounded

from the battlefield (V, 427). The "laughter-loving goddess," "golden" Aphrodite—even Helen herself wondered when she "marked the fair neck and lovely breast and sparkling eyes of the goddess" (III, 396). Penelope on

FIG. 6.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING (fifth century B.C.).
Iris, winged and with messenger's wand, is carrying an infant (Heracles?).

one occasion is divinely endowed with beauty "such as that wherewith the crowned Cytherea is anointed when she goes to the lovely dances of the Graces" (xviii, 192); the Graces weave the divine robe of Aphrodite (V, 337), and constantly attend her. Love and Desire are subject to her bidding, for she possesses the magic girdle by which men are bereft of their senses (XIV, 198). The story

of the *Iliad* presupposes, but does not expressly mention, the story of the judgment of Paris. The shepherd prince was summoned to decide upon the charms of Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite. He was beguiled by the promise of the latter to give him to wife the most beautiful of women; Aphrodite fulfilled her promise by enabling him to carry off Helen, and this was the occasion of the Trojan war. The special care of Aphrodite for Paris (III, 375 f.), and her imperious summons to Helen to attend him are evident reminiscences of this favorite myth. Her son is the Trojan hero Æneas, and it is in the effort to rescue him from Dio-

FIG. 7.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING FROM THE OUTSIDE OF A KYLIX (fifth century B. C.).

Hermes is conducting Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite to Paris, that he may decide which is the most beautiful.

medes that Aphrodite herself is wounded (V, 330): "Then great-hearted Tydeus's son thrust with his keen spear, and leapt on her and wounded the skin of her weak hand; straight through the ambrosial raiment that the Graces themselves had woven her pierced the dart into the flesh,

above the springing of the palm; then flowed the goddess's immortal blood, such ichor as floweth in the blessed gods." She borrowed the steeds of Ares to go back to Olympus, where Dione "took her daughter in her arms and stroked her with her hand" and comforted her. And when Athena taunted her, Zeus smiled and bade her "follow after the loving tasks of wedlock." The embodiment of female charms, Aphrodite is a set-off to Athena who delights in battle. Of Dione, her mother, we learn hardly more than that she is honored by Zeus.

Ares has no such importance in the poems as might naturally fall to the god of war. "Blood-stained bane of mortals, stormer of walls," he is the embodiment of the war spirit itself; it is only natural that his home should be among the wild peoples of Thrace, whence he "comes with his dear son Panic, stark and fearless" (XIII, 298). He represents a different type of warfare from Athena, the goddess of wisdom; and the opposition between the two gods appears more than once in the *Iliad*. When Diomedes attacked Ares with bronze spear, it is Pallas Athena who "drave it home against Ares's nethermost belly, . . . there smote he him, rending through his fair skin, and plucked forth the spear again; then brazen Ares bellowed loud as nine thousand warriors or ten thousand cry in battle as they join in strife and fray" (V, 850), and Diomedes saw the god like a storm cloud, faring to wide heaven. Later Ares attacked Athena, and she hurled a stone that "smote impetuous Ares on the neck and unstrung his limbs; seven roods he covered in his fall, and soiled his hair with dust, and his armor rang upon him" (XXI, 406). While Athena represents the spirit of Zeus on the battlefield, Ares is impetuous, boastful, huge in bulk, but easily overcome when even a mortal boldly faces him. The two ideals, the ideal of Greek warfare and the ideal of barbarian warfare, are diametrically opposed. Homer tells of two

sons of Ares born to him by Astyoche, a Minyan princess (II, 511), and he alludes to an imprisonment of the god by Otus and Ephialtes (V, 385).

10. **Poseidon; Divinities of the Waters.**—Poseidon, the god with dark locks and huge breast (XIII, 563; II, 477), the god who crosses the Ægean in four strides (XIII, 19), is over-lord of the sea. "For three brethren are we," says Poseidon, "and sons of Cronus, whom Rhea bare, Zeus, and myself, and Hades is the third, the ruler of the folk in the underworld. And in three lots are all things divided, and each drew a domain of his own, and to me fell the hoary sea, to be my habitation forever, when we shook the lots" (XV, 189). Because "Zeus was the elder and the wiser, therefore Poseidon avoided to give the Greeks open aid, but secretly ever he spurred them on throughout the host" (XIII, 350). While Poseidon often appeared on Olympus, it was "in the deeps of the mere that his glistering mansions were builded, imperishable forever." Here were his stables, and when he drove across the waves, "the sea beasts frolicked beneath him, on all sides out of the deeps, for well they knew their lord, and with gladness the sea stood asunder" (XIII, 27). His worship is located at Ægæ and Helicon and Geræstus near the sea. The sea peoples like the Phæacians are under his protection (xiii, 185). Grasping his trident he "gathers the clouds and troubles the waters . . . and rouses all storms of all manner of winds" (v, 291). He is strong and passionate, as the sea is wild and not to be controlled; and Odysseus has much cause to regret having angered him. In later time Poseidon is the god of horses also, and perhaps it is fair to explain some allusions in Homer by this characteristic. Poseidon harnesses the horses of Zeus (VIII, 440), and gives horses to Peleus (XXIII, 276), and Menelaüs bids Antilochus touch the horses with which he ran the race and swear by Poseidon that he has not been unfair (XXIII,

581). Evidently Poseidon was conceived as the god of horsemanship, even though no place had been made for this side of his nature in the Olympian system. There are bare allusions to myths of Poseidon: Polyphemus calls him father, and he is the real father of Actor's children; Poseidon helped Apollo build the walls of Troy (XXI, 441). The character of the sea god, however,—this embodiment of the very nature of the sea,—is drawn with great clearness.

As Hera shares the nature of Zeus, so **Amphitrite** is a feminine Poseidon. Circe speaks of the "great roaring wave of dark-eyed Amphitrite," and of sea beasts, "whereof the deep-voiced Amphitrite feeds countless flocks" (xii, 59, 93). She is dark-faced, blue like the sea, as Poseidon is dark-haired; and she is a "much-honored" goddess. The epic does not speak of her as Poseidon's wife.

Of the other sea divinities **Nereus** and his daughters, the Nereïds, are the best known. The "ancient of the sea" dwells in a cave in the bottom of the ocean. The names of some thirty of his daughters are given; and while some, like Thetis and Galatea, are names that recur in later myths, others are simply qualities of the sea and its gods. Apseudes is one such attribute, for these gods prophesy truly; Doris, another, for the sea sends gifts to men; Actæa refers to its shores; and Cymothoë to its waves, and Speio to the caves where the sea gods dwell. As the mother of Achilles, **Thetis** has an important place in the poem, Thetis with fair locks and silver-white feet. When her son prays to her by the shore of the hoary sea, in its depths in the house of her aged father she hears him, and swiftly she emerges from the sea like a mist, and takes her seat before her weeping son (I, 357 f.). It was Thetis who stood by Zeus and freed him from the bonds of Briareüs when all the other gods deserted him. At her son's request Thetis goes to Olympus and wins her petition from Zeus himself. The anomaly of her position, a goddess

bound to human husband and human son, is illustrated in the lament for Patroclus (XVIII, 54 f.); no human mother could sympathize more fully with her son's sorrow in the loss of his intimate friend than does Thetis with Achilles. And recognizing clearly his fate, for his own death is involved in the vengeance he executes on Hector, she yet procures him divine armor to fulfill his part in the drama.

Another series of mythological beings are monsters of the sea. **Proteus** was Poseidon's shepherd of seals, and with his flock he used to come out on the strand to sleep in the sun. His daughter Eidothea explains to Menelaüs his power to assume different, "protean," shapes, a power which later myth assigned to Thetis also; and by the aid of her advice Menelaüs finally gains from Proteus the information he desires as to the condition of affairs in Greece. Phorcys, like Nereus, is an "ancient of the sea." A harbor in Ithaca is sacred to him, and his daughter Thoösa is the mother of the Cyclops Polyphemus. Other sea divinities are encountered by Odysseus: Ino Leucothea, once woman, now goddess, aids him with her veil when he is shipwrecked; he alone has heard the music of the Sirens without falling a victim to their cruelty; the monster Scylla snatches six of his companions, one in each mouth, and he is powerless to answer their cries for help. In a word, the power of the sea, its many changes, its treachery and resistless cruelty, the facility it offers for intercourse and trade—all these receive personal expression in the beings with which the early Greeks peopled it.

Rivers and springs also have a personal nature. Orsilochus, a guest-friend of Odysseus, is descended from the river Alpheius (iii, 487); the river Axius is the grandfather of Asteropæus (XXI, 139); Poseidon assumes the form of the river Enipeus to win the love of Tyro (xi, 235); the hair of Achilles was dedicated to the river Spercheius in Thessaly (XXIII, 144); finally the story of the battle

between Achilles and the river Scamander is one of the most picturesque scenes in the *Iliad* (XXI, 233). The spring nymphs, or Naiads, of Ithaca stand in contrast with the wild boisterous river gods. To these gentle divinities Eumæus prays for his master's return, and Odysseus greets them as patrons of Ithaca.

11. **Other Divinities of Nature.**—With the nymphs of springs belong the nymphs of vegetation. The environment of Circe and Calypso, the house of polished stone in the forest glades about which mountain-bred wolves and lions were roaming (x, 210), the great cave about which the woods blossomed—alder, poplar, and cypress—and the garden vine trailed, rich in clusters, and the soft meadows bloomed with violets and parsley (v, 58 f.)—this environment makes evident the nature of the nymphs. Otherwise they are like other gods, mere actors in the story of Odysseus. The feeling of intimacy with nature, which peopled the world with such beings, kept its vividness in relation to spirits of the sea more than in relation to spirits of vegetation. It may have been ultimately the same reason which explains the slight attention to agricultural gods in the epic. **Demeter** is the mother of Persephone by Zeus; she falls in love with Iasion and meets him in a thrice-ploughed field, but Zeus in anger slays him by a thunderbolt. Demeter is yellow-haired as the grain is yellow; the cultivation and harvesting of the grain are under her care; men are they who eat the "corn of Demeter." She is a much less distinct personality than the sea or river gods, so fully is she identified with the grain itself. **Dionysus** is the son of Zeus and Semele. Lycurgus "erst chased through the goodly land of Nysa the nursing mothers of frenzied Dionysus; and they all cast their wands upon the ground, smitten with murderous Lycurgus's ox goad. Then Dionysus fled and plunged beneath the salt sea wave, and Thetis took him to her bosom, affrighted, for a mighty trembling had seized

him at his foe's rebuke" (VI, 130 f.). A golden amphora, or wine jar, is once mentioned as the gift of Dionysus (xxiv, 73); more of this god Homer does not tell us, and neither he nor Demeter has any part in the action of the poem. That the cultivators of the soil worshiped the spirits of vegetation and sought to further the growth of their crops by magic rites, no one would question. This, like other magic, finds no place in the poems; and the gods of warring heroes have little to do with the humbler occupations of the farm.

Nor are the gods of sun and stars and winds very important. The dawn, **Eos,** once snatched away the beautiful Orion to be her husband, but Artemis slew him in Ortygia (v, 121); now in the starry heavens the Pleiades flee from this mighty hunter. Eos the rosy-fingered, rising from the eastern isle Ææa, is a transparent personification of the dawn; she has nothing to do with the main theme of the epic except as she heralds the day for gods and men alike. **Helios,** the sun, advances up the heaven till noon, and "returns earthward from heaven" till he finally sinks into the ocean. Nothing is hidden from his eye, so that in solemn oaths it is fitting to invoke Helios as well as Zeus. The companions of Odysseus find the herds of Helios under the care of his two daughters, and in spite of divine warning they sacrilegiously slay the cattle. That the sun should have herds of 7×50 cattle and 7×50 sheep, as Aristotle points out, must have some connection with the number of days in a week and in a year. While the meaning of the myth is not fully clear, the realistic personification of nature is an interesting fact.

The master of the winds is **Æolus.** Other gods may rouse or allay their power, but this is the proper function of Æolus. Odysseus finds him in his palace on a floating island, where the god with his family enjoys unending festival. It is no god of the winds, but the winds them-

selves, Boreas and Eurus and Notus, that he shuts up in a bag that Zephyrus may blow Odysseus home. And elsewhere these winds are only half personified, though the character of the winds is described in personal terms. Zephyrus has a palace in Thrace where he entertains Iris, and at her request Boreas and Zephyrus come to fan the pyre of Patroclus (XXIII, 194). The Harpies, or "snatchers," are the storm winds that cause men suddenly to disappear. One of them, Podarge, bears to Zephyrus the swift horses that came into the possession of Achilles. This single incident excepted, their nature is absolutely vague and undefined in the epic. All these gods illustrate the facility of the Greek in personifying phenomena of nature without losing his hold on them as physical facts.

12. **The Life After Death in Homer.**—The world of gods and men which has been under discussion has no place for death: the gods do not die, and at death men just drop out of it, with only a claim to a proper burial. The present life is all that deserves the name of *life*; even its joys are shadowed by the nearness and certainty of death. Still there was a fixed belief in a sort of existence after death. Beneath the earth or in the far-off West was a realm of souls—powerless, unconscious images of those that had once been real human beings. The picture in the *Odyssey* of a visit to this world of the dead is very striking. The hero of the poems lands on the farther shore of Oceanus, a country on which the sun never shines. At the appointed spot he sacrifices sheep, and to the pool of blood the souls of the dead press forward in troops. After his interview with the seer, Teiresias, Odysseus lets one and another of the souls drink from the blood. His mother regains consciousness and tells him of Ithaca; Agamemnon, Achilles, and the angry Ajax come on the scene; he sees the fair women of past days—the first "dream of fair women"; and finally the great sinners of Greece, such as Tityus who

tried to do violence to Hera, and Sisyphus the great deceiver, are seen suffering punishment after death. It is only a half-real, unsubstantial world; the shade of Heracles is here, but the real Heracles is in Olympus; Achilles would rather "live on ground as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead that be departed." To this world

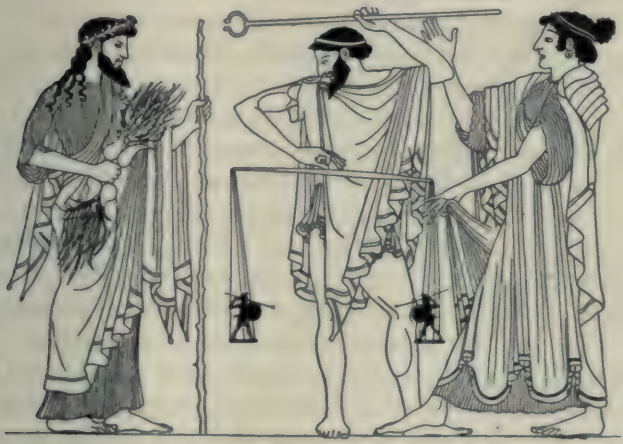

FIG. 8.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING ATTRIBUTED TO AMASIS (fifth century B. C.). The god Hermes is weighing the souls of two warriors (Achilles and Hector?); at the left stands Zeus with thunderbolt and staff, at the right Thetis (?).

Hermes conducts the souls of the dead, "fluttering and gibbering like bats."

This region was the realm of Hades and dread Persephone. As Zeus had obtained Olympus by lot, and Poseidon the waters, so the rule of the dead had fallen to Hades (XV, 190). Hades the "invisible," "not to be reconciled or conquered," the "most hated of all the gods," the "mighty one who guards well his gates," is clearly enough the personification of death; not our death angel, for Hades does not slay men, but the personification of the

fact of death. Persephone has no personality distinct from that of her husband; she has no connection with Demeter who was later regarded as her mother; and there is no mention of her seizure by Hades. In the Homeric picture the two are simply king and queen of the dead. That they are invoked in curses, and indeed fulfill curses (IX, 451), might be explained by the fact that they are the personification of the worst evil that man knows.

13. **Mythology and the Epic.**—Even so brief an account as has been given of the gods in the Homeric poems should have made clear the relation between mythology and the epic. It is true, to begin with, that the Greek epic as a whole is one extended myth or complex of myths. It is a story of gods and heroes, of their character, their relation to one another, and their deeds in connection with the Trojan war; and the purpose of the story is not to honor the gods, nor is it primarily to celebrate any place or any hero; the fundamental purpose of the bard is to please and amuse his audience. Granted that the poet is telling one long myth,—a myth the content of which will receive attention later,—one must not forget the supreme importance of the form in which this myth is cast. In the present chapter the story itself has remained practically unnoticed, and attention has been directed to the nature of Homer's gods. This myth does not differ from other myths in kind; but because it received definite shape at so early a date, and far more because of the power and beauty of the Homeric poems, it exercised a determining influence on all Greek myths, not to say on Greek worship. The gods of Greece in all myths were very much what Homer made them.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* tell each one phase of a complex myth, but there are also not a few allusions in them to other myths only loosely connected with the story of the fall of Troy. The ravages of the Calydonian boar; the visit of Heracles to the lower world, from which by the aid

of Athena and Hermes he brought up the dog that guarded the gates of Hades; the love of Ares for Aphrodite; the love of Demeter for the beautiful youth Iasion; the death of the hunter Orion, whom the Dawn had snatched away to be her husband—these and a few other myths are briefly told when some incident in the main narrative suggests them. Practically they constitute so small a part in the apparatus of the poet that they may almost be left out of account; it is one episode in the one myth of the fall of Troy that is told in the *Iliad*, and one other in the *Odyssey*.

It has been said with considerable truth that there is but one genuine epic, the Homeric poems. So far as mythology is concerned, it is true that later epic poems have closely followed this model. In Virgil it is Venus, the mother of Æneas, who acts as patron goddess of the hero, as Athena had been the patron of Odysseus. Æneas, like his prototype, has adventures in love, in war, and on the sea; he even visits the dark shores of the realm of souls. Jupiter and Juno, Mars and Neptune, are actors in this drama, not so conspicuous as the gods of Homer, but nevertheless gods of much the same type. For Virgil the epic still tells one myth, and the gods are quite as important for this story as is the hero himself. In Milton, to mention no other writer, one traces a double influence of the earlier epic. Imagery and illustration are largely drawn from the material used by Homer and Virgil. Far more important is the fact that the method of handling the material continues the same. Spirits and men succeed one another on this stage, and the scene shifts from heaven to hell, and again to earth, while the action centers around a great central theme. Milton makes the "fall of man" a *myth* for his epic, as the fall of Troy was Homer's myth. But for Milton as for Homer the pleasure of the story is closely linked with the interest in the heroes and divinities whose character is developed in the story.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WORLD

1. Creation and Cosmogony.—Every people has asked, "How did the world come into being?" and the question has received one of two possible answers: Either it was manufactured, as a man makes his house, by some power working from without; or it has grown to be what it is by some natural force inherent in itself. Both explanations are due to analogy: creation is the act of a will like the human will; cosmogony is either a process of natural growth, or a successive birth of new phases of the world as of offspring from a parent. The creation theory has been more familiar to us because it is set forth in the first chapter of our Bible. The Greek view of the world differs from the Hebrew in that it always looked on the world as the result of natural processes; it differs from that of modern science in that it conceived the "evolution" of the world after the simple, crude analogy of the birth of a child. For the Greek the forces and elements of nature—the earth, the bright heavens, the sea, night and day, the sun and the moon—were all conceived as personal beings, so that it was the most natural thing in the world to associate these beings in a family, the more fundamental phenomena as parents, the more complex as children. The world then was not "made," and the gods did not precede the world in time; rather, the world has grown to be what it is in several generations of changes, and the gods themselves were born in this family. That profound philosophical ideas should

appear in the Greek cosmogony does not concern us here; it is simply the story, the myth, of the origin of the world, which precedes the myths of the particular gods.

2. **Accounts of the Beginning.**—This myth was never fixed in one orthodox form, but each writer felt free to tell it in his own way. In Homer, as we have seen, Cronus and Rhea were the parents of Zeus and his brothers. Of the rule of Cronus nothing is said, and all that bears on his genealogy is the story of Hera's visit "to Oceanus, father of the gods, and mother Tethys, who reared me well and nourished me in their halls, having taken me from Rhea when far-seeing Zeus imprisoned Cronus beneath the earth and the unvintaged sea" (XIV, 200 f.). This Oceanus is in particular the father of all the streams (XIV, 246); more details as to his family Homer does not give.

An entire poem on the subject of the theogony has come down to us under the name of Hesiod. "First of all came Chaos," we read,* "then Gaia (the Earth) with broad bosom, ever the secure seat of all the immortals, who inhabit the peaks of snowy Olympus, and gloomy Tartarus in a recess of the earth . . . and Eros the most beautiful among the immortal gods." "Chaos" properly means a yawning space, the *gap ginnünga* of northern mythology—a space, it seems, filled with dark mist. After Chaos comes the Earth; but as yet there is no sky, no sea, no mountains, no day or night, nothing but the solid earth. The moving force in what follows is Eros, Love, the impulse which brings male and female together that new generations may be born. From Chaos are born Erebus and dark Night, the darkness beneath the earth and the darkness on the earth; then Night brings forth to Erebus two children—Æther, the light of heaven, and Day, the light on earth, just as each new day is born of the night that goes before;

* *Theogony*, 116 f.

finally Gaia, mother Earth, is touched by Eros and bears Uranus (the starry Heaven), the vast mountains, and Pontus (the barren Sea). Uranus and Gaia, sky and earth, are the first rulers of the world and parents of a new generation of gods. In this cosmogony there is much that is childish; it is a poet's story rather than a dogma that men believed, but it is a typical Greek account of the beginning of the world.

A different story was told by the Orphic sect. Time (Chronos), itself without beginning, constituted the beginning of the world. Then Chaos arose, a deep abyss in which Night and Mist brooded, and fiery Æther. Time caused the mist to rotate rapidly till it assumed the form of an egg, and this egg split into two parts. The parts became heaven and earth, and from the center of the egg arose the peculiar Orphic gods. A similar story of the world-egg is told among many uncivilized peoples.

Oceanus and **Tethys.** Milton, *Comus*:

> "Listen and appear to us
> In name of great Oceanus,
> By th' earth-shaking Neptune's mace,
> And Tethys' grave majestic pace."

3. The Family of Uranus and Gaia.—Greek mythology told of three successive divine kingdoms. After the period of preparation was passed, and earth and heaven were ready to be inhabited by the gods, Uranus and Gaia first held sway; they were succeeded by Cronus and Rhea; and they in turn by Zeus and Hera. The children of Uranus and Gaia (Heaven and Earth) fall into three groups: the Titans, the Cyclopes, and the hundred-handed giants. Hesiod's list of twelve Titans includes Oceanus and Tethys (according to Homer the first parents of the gods), Hyperion, Theia, Cœus, and Phœbe—names referring to phenomena of the heavens,—Creius, Eurybia, and Iapetus—gods who

stand for force,—Themis and Mnemosyne (Justice and Memory), and finally Cronus and Rhea. The three Cyclopes —Brontes (Thunder), Steropes (the Lightning Flash), and Arges (the Lightning Bolt)—have little in common with the Cyclopes of Homer except that each has only one eye. The hundred-handed giants, Briareüs, Gyes, and Cottus, perhaps represent different phases of the violence of the sea. These last two groups of giant beings were feared and hated by Uranus; and as soon as they were born from Earth, he would thrust them back and confine them in a recess of the earth. Thus oppressed in her body, the Earth devised vengeance. Cronus alone of the Titans was ready to do her bidding; he, provided by his mother with a sharp sickle, lay in wait for Uranus and grievously wounded him. From his blood the Furies, the Giants, and the Melian Nymphs were borne by the earth, and Aphrodite by the sea. Of Uranus we hear no more. He was not worshiped in Greece, and his part in mythology was simply to be the parent of beings who represented elemental forces of nature.

Hundred-handed Giants. Horace, *Odes*, II, xvii, 14:

> "Me nec Chimæræ spiritus igneæ,
> nec, si resurgat, centimanus Gyges
> divellet umquam."

Titan (= the sun). Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, iv, 8; I, xi, 33:

> "But earely, ere the morrow next gan reare
> Out of the sea faire Titans deawy face."

Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, 30, et passim; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, X, 580:

> ". . . how the serpent, whom they called
> Ophion, with Eurynome (the wide-
> Encroaching Eve perhaps), had first the rule
> Of high Olympus, thence by Saturn driven
> And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born."

4. **The Rule of Cronus.**—Founded by the crafty attack on his father and standing under his father's curse, the kingdom of Cronus was not destined to be permanent. Those elemental gods who had sprung from Uranus gave birth now to other gods not unlike themselves. The sea nymphs and the monsters of sea and land arose; Tethys bore to Oceanus the eddying rivers, and nymphs of springs and woods; Hyperion and Theia were parents of sun, moon, and dawn, and dawn became the mother of the winds and the morning star; Atlas "who upholds the broad heavens" and Prometheus and Epimetheus were born to another Titan, Iapetus. Cronus and Rhea, apparently heaven and earth under new names, became the parents of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon, and Zeus. Now Cronus had learned from Earth and starry Heaven that it was fated for him to be overcome by his son, so he watched carefully for the birth of his children and swallowed them as soon as they were born. Before the birth of Zeus, Rhea devised a plan to outwit her husband. Going to Crete she gave birth to her son there and hid him in a cave on Mt. Ægæum;

FIG. 9.—LATE GREEK RELIEF, NOW IN THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUM.

The seated Cronus receives from Rhea the stone wrapped in swaddling clothes.

then she gave Cronus a great stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, which he swallowed as he had swallowed his other children. The Curetes (mountain spirits of Crete) kept up a war dance, we are told, that Cronus might not hear the cries of the infant Zeus. The child soon grew to manhood, and with the aid of Gaia's cunning he compelled Cronus to disgorge his offspring. The stone came out first, and this Zeus set up as a monument at Delphi, a marvel to mortal men. Then the children of Rhea, one after another, were restored to their mother, and Zeus assumed the throne of heaven.

The rule of Cronus was marked by three characteristics: (1) It was the period when most of the spirits of nature were born; the work of the preceding epochs was continued till the world assumed its present form. (2) It is described as a rule of force and cunning; Cronus was the "crooked counselor," in contrast with Zeus beside whom Justice sits. (3) In another series of myths, as we shall see, it is described as the Golden Age, when men have free intercourse with the gods, and when neither hard labor nor want nor wickedness is known in the earth. The inconsistency of the last two points is apparent to us, but it seems not to have troubled the Greeks.

Cronus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 113 f.:

"Postquam Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso
sub Jove mundus erat . . . "

Virgil, *Æneid*, VII, 180; VIII, 319:

"Primus ab ætherio venit Saturnus Olympo,
arma Jovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis."

Chaucer, *Knightes Tale, Prologue*, 1585 f. et passim; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I, 510:

". . . Titan, Heaven's first-born,
With his enormous brood, and birthright seiz'd
By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove,

His own and Rhea's son, like measure found;
So Jove usurping reign'd. These, first in Crete
And Ida known . . . "

Keats, *Hyperion*, I, 249:

"Shall scare that infant thunderer, rebel Jove,
And bid old Saturn take his throne again."

B. W. Procter, *Fall of Saturn.*

5. The Battle with the Titans.—The establishment of the rule of Zeus is described as a period of conflict involving all the forces of nature, a conflict so violent that the very existence of the world was threatened. On the side of Cronus were ranged his brothers and sisters, the Titans, and many of their offspring; with Zeus were the later Olympian gods, the representatives of intellect and order as over against the representatives of brute force. Themis and Mnemosyne, Justice and Memory, were out of place among the Titans, and they went over to the side of Zeus; Prometheus, Forethought, also is with the Olympians, for he foresaw their final victory. For ten years they fought —the gods on Olympus, the Titans on Othrys; and the conflict seemed unending, when Zeus bethought himself of the Cyclopes and hundred-handed giants, whom Cronus had left confined in Tartarus. It was only by other Titanic forces that the Titans were to be overcome. The Cyclopes furnished Zeus with the thunderbolt, his proper weapon; then Zeus himself "no longer restrained his fury." * From

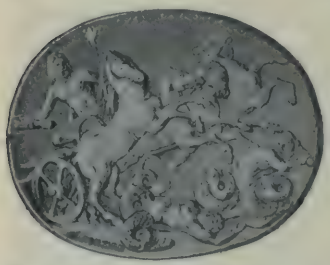

FIG. 10.—ONYX CAMEO OF ATHENION IN THE NAPLES MUSEUM (age of Augustus).

Zeus from his chariot overwhelms two giants; their bodies end in serpents instead of feet.

* Hesiod, *Theogony*, 687 f.

Olympus he hurled the lightning incessantly; the earth all around crashed in flames, the whole land and the streams of ocean were boiling, hot mist enveloped the Titans, and the flashes of lightning burned out their eyes. At the same time the three giants hurled rocks from their three hundred hands at once, till the Titans were buried beneath their missiles. Conquered at last, they were confined in Tartarus with the hundred-handed giants to guard them, and once for all the rule of Cronus was overthrown.

The story of the conflict of the gods and the Titans is probably the oldest part of the Greek myth of the beginning of the world. The conflict was localized in Thessaly, where the signs of nature convulsions were many. The plain itself was drained as the result of an earthquake which burst the mountain wall and formed the Vale of Tempe; Olympus faced Othrys as a mighty rampart facing the rampart of the enemy, both of them seamed and torn as by the brunt of battle; the very bowlders hurled by gods and Titans were strewn over the ground for anyone to see. There were clear traces of the convulsions of nature; fertile Thessaly was the result; a story of the victory of good gods over the Titans seemed a most reasonable explanation of the facts.

The conflict of the Dews and Izeds in Persia, the battle of the good and the bad angels in the Jewish *Apocrypha*, and that world-conflict of Norse mythology which ended in the twilight of the gods, are to be compared with the battle of the gods and the Titans. In each instance the strife is described as a strife of great cosmic forces; but while the phenomena are external, the essential nature of the struggle can be understood only from the standpoint of man's inner consciousness. It is the struggle described by St. Paul: "I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity to the

law of sin which is in my members";* it is the struggle of all the lower instincts in man with the impulses toward mental and moral progress, which is treated in these stories as a struggle between the lower gods of nature and the gods who represent man's higher ideals.

Cyclopes. Cf. Homer, *Odyssey*, VIII, IX; Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 471:

". . . Quotiens Cyclopum effervere in agros
vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Ætnam,
flammarumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa."

Ibid., *Georgics*, IV, 170 f.; Ibid., *Æneid*, XI, 263:

". . . Ætnæos vidit Cyclopas Ulixes."

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIV, 167 f.; Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, IV, iii, 46:

"No big-boned men framed of the Cyclops' size."

Titans. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I, 198:

"Titanian, or Earthborn, that warr'd on Jove."

And in particular the description of the battle between the angels and the hosts of Satan (Ibid., VI, 643 f.):

"From their foundations loosening to and fro,
They pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,
Rocks, waters, woods . . .
So hills amid the air encounter'd hills,
Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire," etc.

Horace, *Odes*, III, iv, 42 f.

6. **Typhœus; Gods and Giants.**—The power of Zeus, freed from further danger as far as the Titans were concerned, was not yet finally established. Gaia bore yet another son, Typhœus (or Typhon, the fiery whirlwind), mighty in hand and foot, having a hundred serpent heads with black tongues and gleaming eyes, hissing, or bellowing like a bull or barking or roaring.† The monster would have

* *Epistle to the Romans*, vii, 22 f. † Hesiod, *Theogony*, 820 f.

destroyed the new order of things, had not Zeus smitten him with the thunderbolt. In the conflict sky and earth down to Tartarus were shaken; and even after Zeus had scorched him all around with his bolts, the earth was melted like pewter where his flame-breath struck it. Finally Typhœus was confined in Tartarus with the Titans, but at times he still grew restless and in a volcanic eruption caused the earth to belch out fire.

When Cronus mutilated Uranus there sprang from his blood "mighty giants in gleaming armor, carrying long spears in their hands." The battle of the gods and the giants is a second myth (doublet) dealing with the same subject as the myth of the battle of gods and Titans. The second myth was not rehearsed by Hesiod and has no proper place in the *Theogony*; perhaps this accounts for the fact that it found no large place in the Greek poetry which has been preserved to us. While the Titans were for the most part poetic personifications of phases of nature, the giants were rather demons of popular belief, attached to particular localities. They had a hold on popular imagination such that gradually they came into universal mythology, particularly into the mythology of art. The art of the fifth century (for example, in the eastern metopes of the Parthenon) represented the giants no longer as men armed with shield and spear, but as wild creatures carrying clubs and stones for weapons. Finally, in the time of Alexander the Great (for example, in the frieze of the temple of Athena at Priene), the giants themselves lost their purely human form; and instead of legs, serpents with fierce heads were attached to the lower part of their bodies. The best known representation of the subject is on the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon, the "seat of Satan," as St. John calls it.* The sculptors of this frieze studied mythological

* *Revelation* ii, 13.

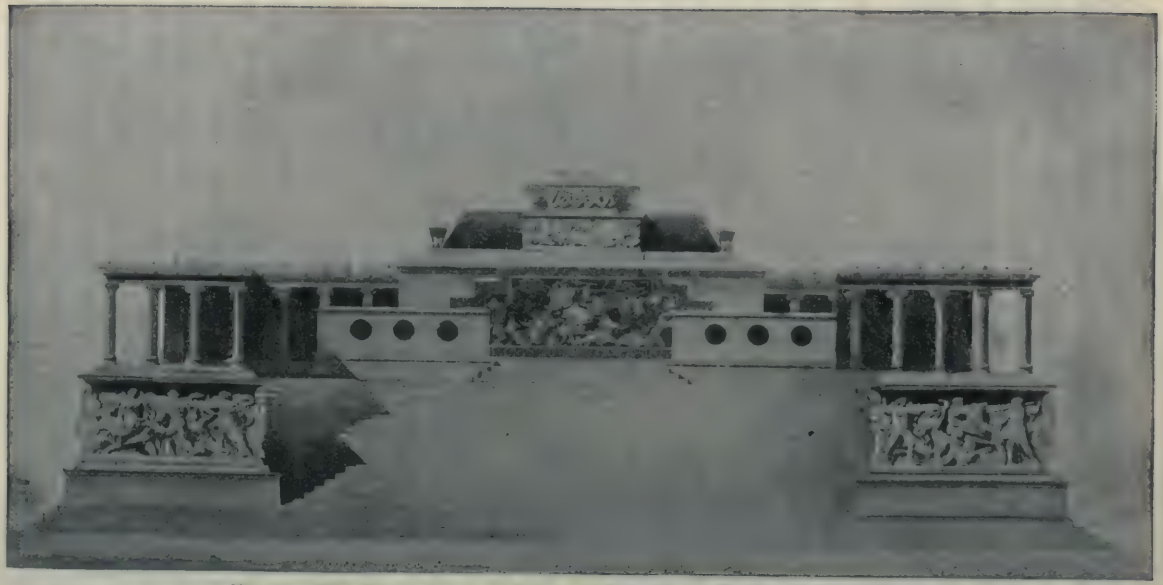

FIG. 11.—THE GREAT ALTAR OF ZEUS THE SAVIOUR AT PERGAMON (restoration).

tradition very carefully, and they represented each god fighting with the giant with which he was associated in that tradition: Athena is fighting with Enceladus, Zeus with

FIG. 12.—SLAB FROM THE ALTAR OF ZEUS AT PERGAMON (restored). Athena is crushing Enceladus. Below, Gaia his mother begs for mercy; while above, Nike crowns the victorious Athena.

Porphyrion and Hyperbius, Apollo with Ephialtes, Poseidon with Polybotes. Further, the giants are given all three types: some are armed with human weapons, some with huge stones, and still others have the serpent legs of later art.

Typhœus. Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, I, 13 f.; Æschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, 351 f.; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, v, 35:

"Typhœus joynts were stretched on a gin."

Milton, *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, XXV:

"Nor all the Gods beside
Longer dare abide,
Not Typhon huge ending in snaky twine."

M. Arnold, *Empedocles on Etna*, Act II:

"Only to Typho it sounds hatefully;
To Typho only, the rebel o'erthrown,
Through whose heart Etna drives her roots of stone,

To imbed them in the sea. . . .
These rumblings are not Typho's groans, I know!
These angry smoke-bursts
Are not the passionate breath
Of the mountain-crush'd, tortured, intractable Titan king."

Giants. Horace, *Odes*, III, iv, 49 f.:

"Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Iovi
fidens iuventus horrida brachiis,
fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympo," *et seq.*

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XI, 688:

"Such were these Giants, men of high renown;
For in those days might only shall be admir'd
And valour and heroic virtue call'd."

7. The Poetic Character of the Theogony.—It has already been observed that the battle of the gods and the giants is based directly on popular tradition, while that of the gods and the Titans is rather a creation of the poets. An examination of the names which appear in the theogony confirms our belief in its poetic character. Many of them are transparent allegory; Day and Night find their place in the system, so do Thunder (Brontes) and Lightning (Steropes), Heaven (Uranus) and Earth (Gaia). In the case of other names the allegory is touched by primitive philosophy: compare Chaos, Love (Eros), Justice (Themis). Foreign gods furnish some names: Rhea belongs in Asia Minor, and Cronus perhaps in Crete. Still other names, like the names of many of the giants, have been adopted from popular belief in local spirits. Further, the study of the system itself shows that it has no sort of historical basis, as though successive generations of the gods had really been worshiped one after another; the system itself is popular philosophy in the form of poetry. It certainly

adds to the majesty of Zeus to have overcome a reign of force and cunning which had itself proved too strong for a preceding ruler. Granted that the development of the world is a process, the highest stage must be preceded by lower stages; in other words, the higher gods by gods that are less perfect. Each of the dynasties is headed by a pair which is essentially the same and yet not the same. In each instance the pair stands for heaven and earth; but Uranus is just the sky which rains on the earth and fertilizes it, Cronus appears to be the summer sun that ripens the fruits, while Zeus stands for the majesty and purity of the light in the heavens. Æschylus puts this thought into the mouth of Aphrodite:*

"The pure, bright heaven still yearns to blend with earth,
And earth is filled with love for marriage rites,
And from the kindly sky the rain-shower falls
And fertilizes earth, and earth for men
Yields grass for sheep, and corn, Demeter's gift;
And from its wedlock with the South the fruit
Is ripened in its season; and of this,
All this, I am the cause accessory."

The progress from Uranus up to Zeus, from the physical facts to law and order under the Olympians, bears the stamp of poetic genius in its creation.

A second fact to be noted is that the transitions are violent. Nature in Greece showed plain marks of great upheavals, and these crises are reflected in the divine government as described by the poet. In the growth of the plant there are such crises when the seed bursts, or normal leaves succeed root leaves, or the leaf bud is transformed to a flower bud; in human life development is by strides at certain epochs, and often earlier mental habits are overthrown that new ones may be formed; in history there are

* Fragment 41, from the *Danaidæ*; Plumptre's translation.

periods when it seems that products of previous development are melted in the crucible that new forms may be cast in the mold for the future use of mankind. Such a process with its stages and its catastrophes was the Greek conception of the rise of the realm of the Olympian deities.

8. **Theories of the Creation of Man.**—The theogony ends with the story of the division of the world into three parts: Zeus became the ruler of the heavens, Poseidon of the sea, and Hades of the underworld. The list of the Olympian gods was gradually increased by the addition of children born to Zeus, till at last the circle was complete. At what point in the theogony man came into being is not clear. The question is complicated by the desire of each country to prove that its inhabitants were the earliest to appear; as, for instance, the Arcadians claimed that their ancestors came into being before the moon (Ἀρκάδες προσέληνοι). In general the stories of the origin of man may be grouped under three headings:

(*a*) Stories of the birth of man from the earth, from hills or lakes, from trees. "The race of gods and of men is one," Pindar sang,* "and from one mother we both received the breath of life." Gaia, the earth, is the mother of men as well as of gods; as trees spring from the soil, so the first men sprang out of it — literal children of the ground. "Black earth put forth divine Pelasgus on the high-foliaged hills, that there might be a race of mortals." † The Athenians were proud of their descent from Cecrops, that child of Attic soil whose serpent limbs betrayed his birth. The original parent of the Bœotians rose out of Lake Copaïs, we are told, and took his name, Alalcomeneus, from the early name of that lake. Probably the "oak men," the Dryopes, of the *Odyssey* were descended from oak trees;

* *Nemean Odes*, VI, 1 f. † Asius in Pausanius, VIII. i, 2.

"rupto robore nati" in the words of Juvenal.* It is a natural modification of this type of myth that, as we read, Ægina (the nymph of the island of that name) bore Æacus to Zeus, or that Taÿgete (nymph of the mountain above Sparta) bore Lacedæmon to the same father. Or it is a tree nymph that marries a god: Melia, the ash tree, bears Amycus to Poseidon; and Philyra, the basswood, bears Cheiron to Cronus.

(*b*) The stories just cited belong with other stories of the birth of man from the gods. In Homer Zeus is the "father of gods and men," and in particular the royal families trace their descent from him. Other gods also married nymphs, and their progeny were mortal men. This was the most natural way of bringing man into the cosmogony constructed by the poets, while at the same time it permitted each nation to satisfy its pride by tracing its own descent from one or another of the gods.

(*c*) Stories of the creation of man. In Plato's day it was said that men were made of earth and fire, that they were creatures fashioned of clay. The earliest trace of this conception is found in Hesiod's story of Pandora. That myth, which includes the story of the creation of a human being, will be considered in the following section. The belief that the gods made the first men as a potter makes a clay image, gained ground in Greece. A credulous traveler was even shown the cabins of earth in which Prometheus wrought the images that were to receive human life, and it was said that the lumps of clay he rejected were still to be seen and that they smelled like human flesh.†

It may be that the question as to the origin of the human race was not often asked, but undoubtedly when it was asked the characteristic Greek answer was that men were born from the gods.

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* *Satires*, VI, 12. † Pausanius, X, iv, 4.

9. **Prometheus; Pandora.**—Underlying the story of Prometheus is the thought that the introduction of fire constituted the beginning of human progress. Prometheus was the giver of fire, a sufficient reason why he should be honored as the patron of human arts and should be himself endowed with the skill which was developed in those arts, perhaps a sufficient reason for the origin of the story that he was the artist who made the first men.* Though Prometheus deserted the Titans to fight on the side of Zeus, he was not in full sympathy with the new régime. As the representative of the human arts (though as yet those arts were not developed), he felt more sympathy with that helpless creature just made by the gods, than he did with the gods. Hesiod † tells the story of a gathering of gods and men at Mekone (Sicyon) to decide on the rights of each in sacrifices. Prometheus placed most of the meat of an animal in one pile, covered with the skin; in another he put the bones and covered them very neatly with slices of meat and fat, his purpose being to make the gods choose the poorer portion. Zeus recognized the trap, but chose the second part that he might have good reason for doing harm to man. So Zeus deprived man of fire and left him to die. Then Prometheus stole fire from heaven, and carrying the precious spark down in a fennel stalk he restored to man the gift of which he had been deprived. Both Prometheus and mankind suffered as the result of this theft; mankind by the gift of the first woman Pandora, Prometheus by being chained to a cliff in the Caucasus while an eagle ate from his liver each day as much as had grown the night before. In Attic story, particularly in the tragedy of Æschylus, Prometheus is the persistent, much-enduring friend of man. Man is a part of that natural world the forces of which had just been subdued by Zeus,

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* Cf. § 8 (*c*), p. 79.

† *Theogony*, 535 f.

and for the benefit of man the harsh new ruler is braved by the brother of the subdued Titans. The sufferings in his punishment are vividly portrayed, and his only solace is that he alone can save Zeus from being ultimately dethroned. At length the nature of Zeus and his attitude

Fig. 13.—Athenian Vase Painting (fifth century B. C.).

At the right Epimetheus with his hammer greets Pandora as she rises from the ground; at the left Hermes is informing Zeus of the event. Apparently the vase painter has confused the return of Persephone from the lower world with the making of Pandora by Prometheus.

toward men and toward the Titans undergoes a change; Heracles slays the eagle that persecuted Prometheus; Prometheus is finally released and is restored to Olympus as a prophet for the gods. That man, created helpless, had to win the good things of nature and the sympathy of the gods, and that the patient enduring of untold suffering by their representative had something to do with reconciling the gods to man, seems to be the conception at the bottom of this myth.

The story of the making of Pandora * has only an external connection with the Prometheus myth. In order that man might suffer for Prometheus's theft of fire, Zeus caused Hephæstus to form a clay image of a maiden—the first woman. Athena furnished her with beautiful raiment, and the Graces placed a garland on her head; Hermes put into her wily words and a winning address; then the gods sent this "snare" to Epimetheus. Epimetheus (Afterthought) received her, forgetting till too late the warning of his brother Prometheus; and upon entering his house she curiously lifted the lid of a great jar. Up to this time man had been free from harsh labor, disease, and pain; but when this lid was lifted, they flew out all over the world, and delusive expectation alone was shut in. The Greek Eve by her curiosity was the means of introducing suffering into the world. From Pandora came the race of delicate women "who dwell, a great source of harm, among mortal men, no helpmates in baneful poverty but only in abundance." The question how mankind existed without women is not raised.

Prometheus. Æschylus, *Prometheus Bound* (Cf. Mrs. Browning, *Prometheus Bound*); Virgil, *Eclogues*, VI, 42; Shakespeare, *Othello*, V, ii, 10 (Othello to Desdemona):

> "But once put out thy light,
> Thou cunning'st pattern of excelling nature,
> I know not where is that Promethean heat
> That can thy light relume."

Ibid., *Titus Andronicus*, II, i, 16:

> "And faster bound to Aaron's charming eyes
> Than is Prometheus tied to Caucasus."

Milton, *In inventorem bombardæ*:

> "Iapetionidem laudavit cæca vetustas,
> Qui tulit ætheream solis ab axe facem."

* Hesiod, *Theogony*, 570; *Erga*, 70 f.

Ibid., *Ad patrem* (translated by Cowper):

"Man's heavenly source, and which retaining still
Some scintillations of Promethean fire,
Bespeaks him animated from above."

Byron, *Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte*:

"Or like the thief of fire from heaven,
Wilt thou withstand the shock?
And share with him, the unforgiven,
His vulture and his rock?"

Ibid., *Prometheus*:

"Thy god-like crime was to be kind,
To render with thy precepts less
The sum of human wretchedness,
And strengthen man with his own mind."

Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*; Goethe, *Prometheus*; Longfellow, *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*; Lowell, *Prometheus*:

"Therefore, great heart, bear up! thou art but type
Of what all lofty spirits endure, that fain
Would win men back to strength and peace through love:
Each hath his lonely peak, and on each heart
Envy, or scorn, or hatred, tears lifelong
With vulture beak; yet the high soul is left."

Pandora. Spenser, Sonnet xxiv; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 714:

"More lovely than Pandora, whom the gods
Endow'd with all their gifts; and, O! too like
In sad event, when, to the unwiser son
Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she ensnar'd
Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd
On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire."

D. G. Rossetti, *Pandora*; Longfellow, *The Masque of Pandora*.

10. **The Four Ages.**—In Greek thought two conceptions of the early history of man appear side by side, conceptions that correspond the one to the belief that man is born from the gods, the other to the belief that man is earth-born or

made from earth. (*a*) If man comes from the earth, he was once like the animals, only more helpless than they. As the story goes, Epimetheus endowed the other animals with speed, strength, and sagacity, with wings, claws, and protecting shells; but all these gifts were gone before man was made, and man had to depend on Prometheus's gift of fire. He lived at first in caves and thickets, and the fruits he gathered were his only food. Each step in progress was the gift of the gods. As fire and the arts came from Prometheus, so the grain was the gift of Demeter, and the vine of Dionysus. (*b*) But if man was born from the gods, he was more like the gods in early times than now. Sins like that of Tantalus, who tempted Zeus himself, explained the loss of that close relation with the gods which must have existed between the divine parents and their human children. From this standpoint history is a record of the gradual degeneration of the human race from its high estate.

It is this second conception which found expression in the account of the four ages. First of all the gods made the **Golden** race of men when Cronus was king in heaven.* Like gods they lived, with heart free from care, toil, and trouble; and old age did not fall to their lot, and death came to them as gently as sleep. Fruitful fields of their own accord bore abundant harvests, and the flocks multiplied. When this race passed away, they became spirits still dwelling on the earth, the guardians of mortal men, and the givers of riches. Gold was the metal of light, the most precious object, the fitting symbol of this most perfect age. The gods next made a **Silver** race, far inferior to the golden in stature and in intellect. Childhood was long, and manhood short for this race; like children they did not restrain insult and wantonness toward one another, nor yet did they honor the gods with religious rites. This race also

* Hesiod. *Erga*, 109 f.

the earth enveloped; and they are honored, though less than their predecessors. A third race Zeus formed of **Bronze.** And these were formidable warriors, for bronze was the metal used for weapons. In body and in temperament they were like the giants who fought against the gods. One enemy, black death, was too strong even for them; and they left the sunlight of life. Last of all came the **Iron** race, wicked men burdened with toil and wretchedness. Respect for parents no longer existed; wickedness and insolence were held in honor, for justice and modesty had abandoned the earth to misery and had betaken themselves to Olympus. This was the poet's own age, the historic period of Greece. The age described by the great epic poems was the period just preceding the historic epoch; and for the heroes of the Theban and the Trojan cycle of myths, Hesiod makes a place between the Bronze and the Iron ages.

NOTE.—It is profitable for the student to compare in detail Ovid's account of the four ages* with the account of the different races given by Hesiod. Ovid, like Hesiod, speaks of freedom from work in the Golden Age, but instead of referring to the relations of man with the gods and the future destiny of these men, he elaborates the picture of simple country life and asserts that no such thing as law was necessary for a race naturally so virtuous. The Silver Age of Ovid is the period when spring gives way to seasons of heat and cold, the period when man found that he must live by the sweat of his brow. Bronze still stood for bronze weapons and a period of violence. Finally the Iron Age, the age of the poet, was marked by the evils which spring from the greed for gold, and by the hardships men undergo in commerce for the sake of gold. The course of development in Ovid is much more consistent than in Hesiod, and the degeneration ends with imperial Rome, not with rustic Thessaly.

The Golden Age. Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 125; Ibid., *Bucolics*, IV, 6; Juvenal, *Satires*, XIII, 27 f.

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* *Metamorphoses*, I, 89 f.

Pope, *Messiah* (On the return of the Golden Age):

"All crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail;
Returning Justice lift aloft her scale."

Milton, *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, xiv–xv:

"For, if such holy song
Enwrap our fancy long,
Time will run back and fetch the Age of Gold;
And speckled Vanity
Will sicken soon and die,
And leprous Sin will melt from earthly mould. . . .
Yea, Truth and Justice then
Will down return to men. . . ."

11. **The Flood: Deucalion and Pyrrha.**—The Greek account of a flood which destroyed all mankind except one virtuous pair is based on a conception of the early history of mankind, much the same as is the account of the four ages. Those early heroes whom the gods honored by treating them as companions, lost their reverence for the gods; the world was given over to wickedness such that it was necessary to destroy the human race and begin anew. By placing this event at the end of the Bronze Age, it was brought into relation with the account of the four ages. As Ovid tells the story, Jupiter (Zeus), hearing of man's wickedness, assumed the form of a man and visited Arcadia. Though warned of the divine presence, Lycaon tried to kill his guest to prove that he was not a god. "Every other means has been tried," Jupiter exclaims as he lays the matter before the gods; "a sore that cannot be cured must be cut out before the whole body is contaminated." In accordance with the decision of Jupiter it rained incessantly, and floods came in from the sea till all the earth was submerged; only one righteous pair was saved—Deucalion, the son of Prometheus, and his wife Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora. In the older accounts these two found safety in a chest

which served them as a boat, and from which they landed finally on Mt. Othrys; later, under the influence of the Delphic oracle, the story was localized on Parnassus, a peak which, according to Ovid, was not entirely submerged. Here the aged Deucalion had remained, praying to the local nymphs and to Themis who then possessed the oracle, till at length the waters subsided from a world laid waste. With libations and sacrifices they prayed to the gods asking the oracle how the loss of the human race might be repaired. The answer puzzled and disheartened them: "Veil your heads, and loose your garments, and throw behind you the bones of your great mother." Such an act seemed like sacrilege. It was the son of Prometheus (Forethought) who saw that in reality stones were meant. In this sense they obeyed the oracle; and one by one the stones they threw assumed human form, those thrown by Deucalion the form of men, those thrown by Pyrrha the form of women. Thus the earth was repeopled; in the words of Ovid, there arose "a human race hard and doomed to toil, giving clear evidence of its origin" from stones. The myth that the earth was peopled from stones seems to be due in the first instance to a sort of pun; for *laes* is the Greek word for stones, *laos* for people. Deucalion was honored as the father of Hellen, from whom sprang Æolus, Dorus, Achæus, and Ion, the nominal parents of the great races of Greece.

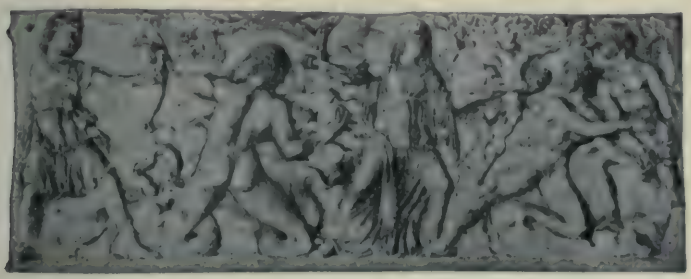

FIG. 14.—BATTLE OF THE GODS AND GIANTS.

CHAPTER III

ZEUS-JUPITER; HERA-JUNO; ATHENA-MINERVA

1. **Zeus, the God of the Heavens.**—The one real contribution which the comparative study of language has made to mythology, is the equation Dyaus (-pitar) = Zeus (-pater) = Jupiter = Tiu.* In India, in Greece, in Italy, and in northern Europe the great sky god has the same name, the first element of which (*div*) denotes the bright heavens, and the second element marks the position of the god as father. In the Greek epic (cf. *supra* p. 42) this god is the "father of gods and men," while at the same time his connection with the phenomena of the heavens is made very clear. In later Greece the connection of Zeus with the sky is no less distinct. He is still called the god of storms and rain, the mighty thunderer, master of the lightning; in poetry and in worship he is honored as the god of fair winds (οὔριος), and mariners look to him for a prosperous voyage; as the eye of the sun sees all things, so Zeus is the "all-seer" in heaven; in Crete he is Asterios, god of the starry heaven, or Tallaios the sun god. The mountains are his seat; they reach up to the sky which is his proper abode, the clouds of Zeus cover their tops, and the mist which settles on them is a sign that a storm of Zeus is coming. Olympus is the seat of Zeus, then of all the gods; his smoking altar on Ida overlooks the Trojan

* The word that appears in Greek as Zeus comes from the root ΔΙF, "bright"; from the same root come the Latin *divus, dies*, etc.

plain; Mt. Panhellenius on Ægina serves as a weather prophet even to-day; on Lycæum and Laphystion and Hymettus and many another mountain in Greece were regularly established cults of Zeus the rain god.* Three special aspects of his nature are connected with the original character of this heaven god.

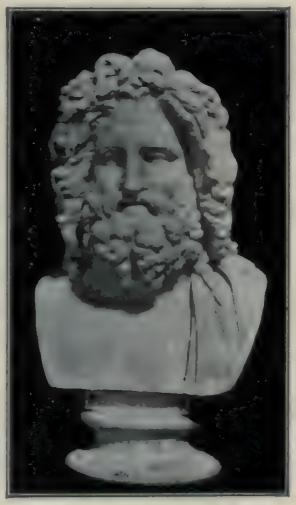

Fig. 15.—Marble Head of Zeus Found at Otricoli and Preserved in the Vatican (copy of a Hellenistic work).

Zeus as father of the gods and king of men.

(*a*) As the god of storms, Zeus is also the god of battles, the father of Ares and Athena. The ægis with which he confounded his enemies is said to have been originally the storm cloud, fraught with disaster for man. The thunderbolt is the most potent weapon yet forged, the thunderbolt of Zeus. All those battles with Titans and giants and evil beings were battles waged by the powers of light. To the Greek imagination each wild storm manifested anew the conflict which had been enshrined in story, and the return of the clear sky was a sign that the gods were victors. It was only wild and warlike tribes—for example, in Asia

* "And if drought continues a long time and seeds in the ground and the foliage of the trees are drying up, then the priest of Zeus prays for rain (on Mt. Lycæum); and after he has made the customary sacrifices he lets down a branch of oak into the spring a little way, not down to the bottom. When the water is stirred a veil-like mist rises, and spreading out the mist becomes a cloud and attracts to itself other clouds and causes rain to fall on the land of the Arcadians."—*Pausanias*, VIII, xxxviii, 3.

Minor—which actually made their chief god a war god. Still the issues of the battle lay with Zeus, and the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias carried a Nike (Victory) in his right hand. But if the Greeks made the children of Zeus their war gods, Zeus himself was honored as the patron of physical contests. The olive branch of Zeus was awarded to the swift, the strong, the skillful at Olympia. So, at many other points in Greece, the games were celebrated as a part of his worship. In his sons, in Apollo and Hermes and Heracles, this side of his nature also found expression.

(*b*) As the sky god, Zeus revealed his will by phenomena in the heavens. Prophecy and inspiration belonged especially to his son Apollo; but Dodona was older than Delphi, and the eagle and the thunderbolt were signs that could not be disregarded. It was Prometheus who taught man

> ". . . tokens by the way
> And flight of taloned birds I clearly marked·
> Those on the right propitious to mankind,
> And those sinister,—and what form of life
> They each maintain, and what their enmities
> Each with the other, and their loves and friendships." *

To Calchas the serpent devouring a sparrow with nine young was a sign from Zeus that Troy would be taken only after ten years of weary fighting; the Greek army fighting before Troy was now frightened, now reassured, by a thunderbolt from Zeus. At Dodona, we are told, there were doves (priestesses called doves, the rationalist puts it) who made known the will of Zeus. A lofty oak, sacred to the god who sent rain for the farmers, was the home of these doves, and the very rustling of its leaves revealed the presence of the god himself. Even in Athens a spatter of rain or a thunderbolt was a sign that the gods were not

* Æschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, 493, trans. Plumptre.

propitious, so that a political assembly was at once adjourned.

(*c*) Particularly in Attica the sky god was worshiped as the patron of agriculture. Offerings of fruits were brought to Zeus Polieus (the guardian of the city) on the Acropolis. The angry god of the winter storm was worshiped at the time of plowing and sowing, that the weather might be favorable to the new crop. In the variable weather of spring both public and secret rites were performed to render Zeus propitious. In summer, when heat and drought threatened the crops, the Athenians again joined in the worship of Zeus, praying the heaven god to save their olive trees and the fruits of their fields. Such practices were not confined to Athens alone; for instance, in Myconos a religious calendar prescribed sacrifices to Zeus and Ge (Earth) in behalf of the crops.

Zeus, God of Rain and Thunder. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, i, 6:

> "And angry Jove an hideous storme of raine
> Did poure."

Ibid., I, iv, 11:

> "And thund'ring Jove that high in heaven doth dwell
> And wield the world."

Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, V, 49:

> "Jove's thunder roars, heaven trembles all around."

Cf. Shakespeare, *Tempest*, V, i, 45; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 500.

2. **Birth and Marriages of Zeus.**—The story of the birth of Zeus was localized at several points in Greece proper, as on Mt. Laphystion; but it belonged in Crete. Crete seems to have been the most important center for the worship of the great mother Rhea, and here Mt. Lyctus and Mt. Dicte and Mt. Ida were rival claimants for the honor of being the birthplace of Zeus. To one of these

mountains Rhea came at night and hid the divine child in a cave. The goat Amaltheia gave him milk, and bees of the mount brought him honey; or holy doves brought him nectar and ambrosia in their beaks.* The child was protected from harm by the Curetes, who drowned his cries

FIG. 16.—LATE GREEK RELIEF, NOW IN THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUM (cf. Fig. 9). Two Curetes are beating their weapons above the infant Zeus, who is suckled by a goat; at the left sits his mother Rhea.

by the clash of their weapons. Other Zeus myths also were localized in Crete: the victory over Cronus, the battle with the giants, the birth of Athena. Finally the Cretans pointed out the grave of Zeus. In Phrygia men said that in winter Zeus (the summer god) slept; in other parts of Asia Minor there was a story of his imprisonment in winter;

* For the Curetes, see pages 15 and 143.

this same thought the Cretans expressed more emphatically in the myth that he died each autumn to be born again in the spring.

The marriages of Zeus are very numerous, but they may be treated in several groups. (*a*) In the first place there are several marriages of a symbolic character. Zeus is the husband of **Mnemosyne** (Memory) and the father of the Muses; **Themis** (Justice or Order) bears to him the Horæ (the seasons of the year); and **Eurynome** (Far Ruler) is the mother of the Charites or Graces. Neither mothers nor daughters are fully personified in these stories, for they are essentially allegorical. (*b*) Zeus is the only god who is the father of other Olympian gods. Almost nothing is said of his relations with **Leto,** the mother of Apollo and Artemis, or with **Demeter,** the mother of Persephone. In each instance the mother is the main subject of the story, and perhaps Zeus had originally no part in it. On Mt. Cyllene, Zeus is honored as the husband of **Maia** and the father of Hermes; at Dodona his wife is **Dione;** but in the course of time **Hera** was generally recognized as his one lawful wife and queen. That different goddesses should be regarded as wives of Zeus, one in one place, another in another, is not surprising when we remember that Greek religion was essentially a local institution.* (*c*) The relations of Zeus with mortal women cannot be explained in this way. Some women bore to him sons who were received into the circle of the gods. Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, became the mother of Dionysus;† and another Theban queen, Alcmene, was the mother of Heracles.‡ In Thebes also men told of Antiope, who bore to Zeus two sons, Amphion and Zethus.§ Io, whom Zeus changed into a cow, came to Argos, where she was honored as the grandmother

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* Cf. Introduction, page 20.

† Chap. X, iv, § 2, page 285.

‡ Chap. X, i, § 5, page 267.

§ Chap. X, iv, § 1, page 281.

of Danaus and Ægyptus; Danaë, a daughter of this same stock, was visited by Zeus in a shower of gold and bore to him the hero Perseus.* Again it was a local nymph whose son by Zeus became the ancestor of the people of the land, as the nymph Ægina bore Æacus to Zeus, or as Arcas the son of Zeus and Callisto became the ancestor of the Arcadian people.†

When these amours of Zeus (and there were many more) were told by the poets, they assumed a form quite inconsistent with the character of Zeus as the divine ruler of the universe. Different localities assigned different wives to Zeus, nor was any locality willing to have its claim ignored. Various gods, some of them worshiped only in particular localities, came into the Olympian circle; and their position there must be explained. So when the worship of Dionysus had found its way into Greece, its right to a position there was recognized by treating Dionysus as a son of Zeus. Again, different races wished to trace their lineage back to Zeus by making him the father of their original ancestor. All these factors worked together under the spell of poetic fancy to weave a fabric as unbecoming to Zeus as it was foreign to his essential nature.

Birth of Zeus. Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 104:

> "Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto,
> mons Idæus ubi et gentis cunabula nostræ . . .
> hinc mater cultrix Cybeli, Corybantiaque aera
> Idæumque nemus . . ."

Loves of Zeus. Cf. the stories of Io, Danaë, Semele, etc., *infra*, Chapter X.

Herrick, *To the Maids to Walk Abroad:*

> "But fables we'll relate, how Jove
> Put on all shapes to get a love,

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* Chap. X, pages 258 and 263. † Chap. X, iii, § 1, page 274.

As now a satyr, then a swan,
A bull but then, and now a man."

Milton, *Paradise Regained*, II, 182:

"Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,
In wood or grove, by mossy fountain-side,
In valley or green meadow, to waylay
Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa . . ."

3. **Zeus, the King of Men and Gods.**—In the Homeric poems the rule of Zeus over gods and men, and the close connection of human kings with Zeus, are the most clearly marked characteristics of the god. Zeus was always the protector of the state, even when kings gave way to a democratic rule. The earliest altar of the state was the altar in the king's palace, the altar on which the king sacrificed in behalf of his people. The two kings of Sparta claimed descent from Zeus, one of them from Zeus the heaven god, the other from Zeus the god of the Spartan land. On the acropolis at Athens was an altar to Zeus the protector of the city, while in the town below he was honored as the god who had saved the state from its enemies. With Dike (Justice) seated by his side, he watched over the market place. Confederacies of states worshiped this same god, the "Panhellenic Zeus"; for his authority was recognized in all places alike. All social institutions were under the care of Zeus. At Athens sacrifices were offered to him as the god of the phratry (clan) when children were enrolled in its lists. In particular Zeus was the god of the family. He was one of the divinities presiding over marriage, whose blessing was sought for the bridal pair; his altar was set up in the court of the new home; he caused the property of the family to increase; indeed he was invoked as the very genius of the family and the embodiment of its essential nature.

Other social relations were guarded by the divine king. He was invoked in oaths, for the oath breaker feared the vengeance of Zeus. The boundaries of fields were protected by his power rather than by any human law. To him the stranger and the suppliant looked for protection: though they had no rights before the courts, they went about in safety, for men dared not offend Zeus. In Greece the relation of friendship was almost as sacred, and almost as important in the make-up of society, as the family itself. Zeus was worshiped as the god of friendship (φίλιος); he even received the representatives of the people at his divine table in token of the fact that social intercourse and friendship received his special blessing. In a word Zeus was so intimately connected with every phase and institution of social life, his divine nature touched human life at so many points, that he was on quite a different plane from the other gods. Of them no one could have stood alone, they all might disappear, their myths might be forgotten and their worship discontinued; but Zeus would still be present to watch over human life in all its phases.

FIG. 17.—COIN OF ELIS (reign of Hadrian).

Zeus is seated on a throne with high back; in his left hand is a staff, and on his right hand a figure of Nike. Probably the conception is taken from the Zeus Olympios of Pheidias.

FIG. 18.—COIN OF ELIS (reign of Hadrian).

Head of Zeus, probably taken from the Zeus Olympios of Pheidias.

If now we regard the position of Zeus from the standpoint of the gods, the same fact comes out clearly. It is on Mt. Olympus, the seat of the early worship of Zeus, that the council of the gods gathers; they

know no other king than Zeus; their very position in the system of the gods depends on their relation to him. It was the poets, not the priests, who were the theologians of Greece; and poetic insight perceived with increasing clearness, poetic genius taught with increasing power, that the godhead was essentially one. Homer describes Zeus as stronger than all the gods; Æschylus and Pindar depict his supreme majesty; in Sophocles the power controlling is called now "god," now "Zeus"; and at length what the poets had felt was incorporated by the philosophers in their systems. Greek mythology was saved from being puerile by the position it assigned to Zeus, but in this very fact were contained germs of the truth which was to overthrow it.

Zeus, the God of States. Horace, *Odes*, IV, iv, 74:

"Quas et benigno numine Jupiter
defendit, et curæ sagaces
expediunt per acuta belli."

Zeus, the King of Heaven. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 178:

"Celsior ipse loco, sceptroque innixus eburno,
terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque
cæsariem cumqua terram, mare, sidera movit."

Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 2177:

"What maketh this but Jupiter the king?
The which is prince and cause of alle thing
Converting al un-to his propre welle."

Schiller, *Der Triumph der Liebe*, 69:

"Thronend auf erhabnem Sitz,
Schwingt Kronion seinen Blitz;
Der Olympus schwankt erschroken,
Wallen zürnend seine Locken."

Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II, iv, 55; M. Arnold, *Empedocles on Etna*, II, 67 f.

Zeus in Greek Art. Zeus is ordinarily represented as a mature man with fully developed muscles and a luxuriant growth of hair and beard. The standing figures are usually nude; in the seated figures he has an himation about his knees; sometimes there is a crown of wild olive or of oak leaves on his head. His commonest attributes are the thunderbolt in his hand and the eagle by his side; he may also carry a scepter, a patera as a symbol of worship, or a small statue of Nike (as in the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias).

Among the more celebrated statues of Zeus in antiquity were the following:

Olympia; Zeus dedicated by Megarians; by Dontas, Sq. (i. e., Overbeck *Schriftquellen*) 330.

Sparta; Zeus Hypatos; by Clearchus of Rhegium, Sq. 332.

Ægium; youthful Zeus; by Ageladas of Argos, Sq. 394.

Naupactus; Zeus Ithomatas dedicated by Messenians; by Ageladas, Sq. 392.

Olympia; Zeus dedicated by Gelon; by Onatas, Sq. 422.

Olympia; Zeus dedicated by the Platæans; by Anaxagoras, Sq. 433.

Olympia; temple statue by Pheidias, Sq. 692 f. Fig. 17, p. 96.

Argos; Zeus Meilichios by Polycleitus, Sq. 941.

Statues by Leochares at Athens, Sq. 1303 f.

Tarentum; colossal statue by Lysippus, Sq. 1451 f.

4. **Jupiter.**—Perhaps there is no better illustration of the difference between the Greek and the Roman way of looking at the gods than Jupiter. Originally a sky god and a father god as was Zeus, Jupiter comes to be worshiped under many different aspects, but no myths or stories of his relations with men gather about his name. The expression *sub jove*, "under the open sky," preserves the original meaning of the word; it appears also in such epithets as "Lucetius," applied to Jupiter as the light god. Other phenomena of the sky such as rain and lightning belong to Jupiter. To the rain god Jupiter Elicius (*elicere*, to "charm out" the rain), belonged the rain stone, *manalis lapis*, which was carried around by a solemn procession in

seasons of drought. Men hoped that the water contained in its hollow surface might evaporate and form rain clouds to relieve the drought. The rain god was worshiped also at festivals connected with the culture of the vine and the fruits of the field were under his protection. The god of lightning, Jupiter Fulgus, was specially honored, for in the lightning was felt the immediate presence of the light god in contact with men. Whatever the lightning struck was holy, consecrated by the god's touch. Both the lightning and the flight of birds in the sky served to reveal to men the will of Jupiter.

As the king of gods and men Jupiter is the god of battles, the god who smites the enemy (Eretrius), stops flight (Stator), gives victory (Victor), and is the guardian of treaties and oaths (Fidius). The god of battle and of fidelity is still the old sky god; the lightning is his weapon and the means by which he punishes perjurers. The old shrine of Jupiter the god of the state had been the sacred grove of the protector of Latium (Jupiter Latiaris) on Mons Albanus. But the conception of Jupiter as king found its highest expression in the worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline. To the threefold temple shared by Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, came annually the great procession which marked the beginning of the Roman civil year, to seek the blessing of the king of the gods on the (future) mistress of the world. Here the laws were kept; here recruits were mustered into the army, and war was declared; hither, when the war was over, came the victorious commander in the triumphal procession to dedicate his spoils to the god that gave the victory. Thus Jupiter represented the unity of the Roman state, but religious thought in Rome never assigned to him the almost monotheistic character of Zeus.

5. **Hera, the Wife and Queen.**—It is not clear whether Hera was originally a personification of phenomena in the

heavens;* in any case she bears in mythology all those traits which characterize the sky god, her husband. The storm comes at her bidding, the lightning is her weapon also, the storm god Typhon is her progeny. At Corinth, for example, she is worshiped as Akraia, the goddess of hilltops. Her life with Zeus is anything but a peaceful one. It reflects the storms of heaven in their quarrels, quarrels in which now his might, now her cunning gets the upper hand. Even more than her husband, she delights in the din of war. In worship, as well as in epic poetry, this side of her nature is made prominent. At the Argive Heræum, on the island of Samos, and in Elis, games of war are celebrated in her honor; in fact it is only as warriors that men have a place in her worship. Fittingly is she the mother of Ares. The spring and the returning life of nature marked the culmination of the worship of Zeus. So it was in the form of the cuckoo, the bird of spring, that Zeus is said to have wooed Hera; each spring her marriage is cele-

FIG. 19.—MARBLE HEAD OF HERA (formerly in the Farnese collection and now in the Naples Museum).

The youthful Hera is represented as a self-willed queen.

* No satisfactory derivation of the name Hera has as yet been proposed.

brated anew. And as the birth and death of Zeus were epochs in the Cretan religious year, so at Stymphalus Hera was worshiped as maiden, as wife, and as widow. The regal majesty of Zeus is shared by his wife, the golden-throned queen, august, revered by gods and men alike. Her position as the queen of Zeus underlies all the myths, such as the myth of Io,* in which Hera bears a part. She is the embodiment of mature female beauty, the goddess in whose honor women held contests of beauty. And her relations with Zeus form the prototype of the human family.

Fig. 20.—Coin of Argos (fourth century B. C.). Head of Hera wearing *stephanos*, probably taken from the temple statue by Polycleitus.

6. **Hera, the Goddess of Marriage.**—As the wife of Zeus, Hera presides over human marriage. Her own marriage was celebrated annually as the central feature of her worship. At Samos her image was taken from the temple, given the bridal bath, decked with rich garments and flowers, and carried out in a wedding procession to meet her husband. A bed was made of the soft foliage of spring, for marriage typified the new life that manifested itself in spring; and here the image was left for the night as a bride alone with the sky which was her husband. Such was the "divine marriage" (*ἱερὸς γαμός*), which gave its name to the month Gamelion.†

Hera Teleia, the goddess who brings marriage to fulfillment, was one of the gods worshiped by the bride before her wedding; and she was the goddess who presided over the new family. The chastity of the wife, her devotion to the duties of a mother, and her matronly beauty were

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* *Cf. infra*, Myths of Argos, Chap. X, page 258.

† The seventh month of the Attic year, corresponding to the end of January and the beginning of February.

the object of Hera's care. Though the goddess of childbirth, Eileithyia, was her daughter, it was the ideal of wife rather than that of mother which found expression in Hera.

Hera, the Wife. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 466 f.; Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, V, iv, 32:

"With Mars fall out, with Juno chide."

Hera, the Queen. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, iv, 17:

"Juno rides
To Jove's high house through heaven's gras-paved way,
Drawne of fayre Pecocks, that excell in pride,
And full of Argus eyes their tayles dispredden wide."

Cf. Shakespeare, *Tempest*, IV, i, 131 ff.

Hera, the War Goddess. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IX, 18:

"Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long
Perplex'd the Greek, and Cytherea's son."

Hera in Greek Art.—Hera is represented either as a young bride or as a mature queen. On her head is a high *polos* or low *stephanos* (crown); her garments are richly decorated and often include a marriage veil; in the great temple statue of Polycleitus she carried a scepter with a cuckoo on its top, and in her other hand a pomegranate (perhaps the emblem of fruitfulness).

There is only one allusion to a statue of Hera by Pheidias (Sq. 773), though she is represented with Zeus on the Parthenon frieze. The more celebrated statues of Hera are the following:

Samos; temple statue by Smilis of Ægina, Sq. 340 f.
Near Athens; temple statue by Alcamenes, Sq. 816.
Argos; temple statue by Polycleitus, Sq. 932 f.
Platæa; Hera Teleia by Praxiteles, Sq. 1213.

7. **Juno.**—The Roman goddess, like the Greek, is the queen of heaven, Regina. As such she is supreme among the goddesses, the special deity of women and of marriage; as such, also, she is the female representative of the bright heavens, and she even shares the warlike functions of her husband. Juno differs from Hera in that she is closely

connected with the moon. The Calends are sacred to Juno Lucetia or Lucina, as the Ides are sacred to Jupiter. Some mystic connection between the moon and the life of women is widely recognized among primitive peoples; in Italy it received special emphasis. Juno was peculiarly the goddess of women, even to the extent that each woman had her own protecting *juno* whom she worshiped on her birthday, just as each man had his *genius*. As Pronuba, Juno presided over betrothal; Juno Juga yoked together the husband and the wife in marriage; Juno Domiduca was worshiped as they were escorted to their new home, and its doorposts were anointed in honor of Juno Unxia. The most important festival of married women was the Matronalia, which was celebrated both at the temple of Juno Lucina and in the home. It was this Juno Lucina, as well as Juno Sospita (the saviour), who watched over childbirth, protecting mother and child from harm. While Hera is primarily the queen and the wife, Juno is rather the representative and guardian of female life in all its phases.

8. **Minor Divinities Associated with Zeus and Hera.**— Two groups of lesser gods are closely connected with Zeus and Hera: (1) Several series of allegorical beings that are treated as children of Zeus, and (2) the special attendants of each of these supreme gods.

1 (*a*) The **Horæ** (Seasons of the Year) and **Themis.**— It is part of the allegorical nature of the Horæ that they were regarded as daughters of the sky god Zeus and Themis the goddess of due order. Æschylus * suggested that Themis was a personification of the mother Earth. She is first the goddess who stands for the fixed laws of nature and brings forth the fruits in their season; then she personifies justice in human relations. Pindar † describes her as "the first one to be led by the Moirai on golden car from

* *Prometheus Bound*, 209. † *Fragments*, 30.

FIG 21*a*.—RELIEF FROM A BASE FOUND AT MANTINEA (fourth century B.C.?). Three Muses; the one at the left has a double flute, the one at the right a lute.

the sources of Oceanus to Olympus as the wife of Zeus." The children of this pair are the Horæ, who in due time bring to perfection the fruits of the earth. At Athens they are named Thallo, Auxo, and Carpo (Bloom, Growth, and Fruit). In Rome there were four Horæ personifying the four seasons of the year, or again the Horæ were treated as children representing the hours of the day.

(*b*) The **Charites** (Graces) and **Eurynome.**—Eurynome is one of the names for the mother goddess in nature, the personification of life and fertility in both the animal and the vegetable world. In mythology she remains but a name—a name, however, which signifies that the life principle in nature brings forth gladness and beauty and grace. In art and in story the children of Eurynome, the Charites, stand for all that is fair in human life. They are pictured as beautiful maidens, flower-crowned, dancing and singing or playing the flute. The charm of life as men

FIG. 21*b*.—SECOND RELIEF FROM THE MANTINEAN BASE.
Three Muses; the one at the left has a roll, the one at the right a cithara.

felt it, or predicated it of the gods, is personified in them; fittingly they are the children of Zeus, and in the train of Zeus is their proper place. The epic tells of many Charites, but in later worship there are three: Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia. Their worship is mainly of a musical character, and it belongs in the springtime.

(*c*) The **Muses** and **Mnemosyne** (Memory).—All the arts and graces of civilization the Greeks credited to memory, a thought they expressed by saying that Memory (Mnemosyne) is the mother of the Muses. And they are children of Zeus, gifts to men from the king of heaven. Apollo is their leader, the "Mousagetes" at the festivals of the Olympian gods or in the worship of Zeus; they care for the infant Dionysus, for their inspiration comes from the same nature life that is manifest in the wine; still the Muses are daughters of Zeus, and they are worshiped at the old centers of the worship of Zeus. On the vine-clad

slopes on the north side of Olympus, facing the Pierian mount, is their early home. Here are the springs from which they drew inspiration for their song; here Orpheus, their son and priest, attended them; here is the grave of Orpheus, lamented in their dirges. Later the most important center of their worship was Helicon, that shrine of which Hesiod was the prophet. A grove with springs of water was the shrine proper, where poets sang to win prizes from them, and where collected objects of artistic value formed the first museum (*Mouseion*). In earlier times the Muses had no true individuality; they were the divine band of singers who were prototypes of human musicians, and the names first given them expressed only a poet's thought of the different phases of song. With the development of new forms of literature other than epic poetry, the sphere over which the Muses presided was increased; then their number was fixed at nine; finally there was formed a definite list of names to represent distinctly the different types of literature and culture. Their names and attributes are as follows:

Name.	Meaning of Name.	Sphere.	Attributes.
Clio.	Praise.	Epic poetry (later, history).	Roll of writing.
Melpomene.	Song.	Tragedy.	Tragic mask.
Thalia.	Joy of life.	Comedy (later, agriculture).	Rough garment and staff.
Terpsichore.	Delight in dance.	Choral lyrics.	Long garment and lyre.
Erato.	Loveliness.	Love songs.	Thin garment, small lyre.
Calliope.	Beauty of voice.	Elegy.	Tablet and stylus.
Euterpe.	Charm.	Flute music.	Double flute.
Polymnia.	Many hymns.	Religious hymns (later, learning).	Rock, on which she is seated, in meditation.
Urania.	The heavens.	Astronomy.	Globe.

They were all pictured as young, beautiful maidens, wearing golden bands about their dark locks, the personification of the glad arts of life.

2 (*a*) **Iris** (the Rainbow).—In the *Iliad* Iris is the messenger of the gods, particularly of Zeus and Hera. The rainbow is the fitting symbol of the relation between heaven and earth, between the light god and the world he governs. As the rainbow appears suddenly and disappears, so Iris, a woman in the prime of youth, comes and goes with "feet swift like wind" and wings of gold, to perform the errands of Zeus. So transparent is the allegory that she remains entirely without definite personality. In art it is almost impossible to distinguish her from other winged figures, except when she carries the herald's staff (*kerykeion*) of Hermes. Later her connection with Hera becomes so close that she resembles Hebe rather than Hermes.

(*b*) **Hebe** (Youth).—Hebe, no less than Iris, is an allegorical figure, the representative of youth in the form of a fair maiden who serves the gods at their banquets. That she performed other services which might be deemed menial, such as the assistance she renders Hera in harnessing her horses for battle, or the attendance on Ares at the bath, is not derogative to her dignity; she is the daughter of Zeus and Hera, and her duties are not other than those which the epic ascribes to a human princess. It is a strange fact that the children of Zeus and Hera—namely, Ares, Hebe, and Eileithyia—do not occupy a supreme position among the gods. In worship Hebe occasionally has a place in connection with Hera, or again in connection with Heracles. Mythology assigns to her the function of reconciling Hera with Heracles, and makes her the wife of Heracles in heaven. In all these relations she remains the personification of youth and its delights.

(*c*) **Ganymedes.**—Ganymedes seems to be the masculine expression of the thought which appears in feminine form

in Hebe. He also stands for the joy of youth (cf. γάνος): he is the favorite of Zeus; and he, like Hebe, is the cup bearer of the gods on Olympus. Pindar applies the name to the god at the sources of the Nile who pours out the waters that form this river. According to Homer,* "Ganymedes, the most beautiful of mortal men . . . the gods caught up to be cupbearer to Zeus, for sake of his beauty, that he might dwell among immortals." Or again † it is Zeus himself who, by a divine blast, snatches him away "to be cupbearer to the gods in the house of Zeus, honored by all the immortals as he draws from golden bowl the ruddy nectar." The best known story is that the eagle of Zeus, or Zeus in the form of an eagle, carried him off and bore him up to heaven. It was this story which Leochares adopted for his celebrated group in marble.

Horæ and Charites. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 118; Milton, *Comus*, 986:

"The Graces, and the rosy-bosom'd Hours."

Ibid., *Paradise Lost*, VIII, 60 (Eve):

"Not unattended; for on her as Queen
A pomp of winning Graces waited still."

Schiller, *Klage der Ceres*:

"Führt der gleiche Tanz der Horen
Freudig nun den Lenz zurück."

Muses: Invoked at the beginning of poems, as in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Spenser, *Teares of the Muses*; *Faerie Queene*, Prologue, ii. Shakespeare, *Sonnet* xxxviii. Gray, *Progress of Poesy*, II, 3; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII, 1:

"Descend from Heaven, Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art call'd. . . ."

Byron, *Childe Harold*, I, 62 (Parnassus):

"And thou, the Muses' seat, art now their grave."

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* *Iliad*, XX, 232 f. † *Homeric Hymn*, III, 200 f.

Wordsworth, *Ode* (1816):

"And ye, Pierian Sisters, sprung from Jove
And sage Mnemosyne."

M. Arnold, *Consolation:*

"Grey time-worn marbles
Hold the pure Muses. . . .
Yet not on Helicon
Kept they more cloudless
Their noble calm."

Ibid., *Empedocles on Etna* (end):

"'Tis Apollo comes leading
His choir, the Nine.
—The leader is fairest,
But all are divine."

Iris. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 270:

"Nuntia Iunonis varios induta colores,
concipit Iris aquas, alimentaque nubibus adfert."

Milton, *Comus*, 992:

"Iris there with humid bow
Waters the odorous banks, that blow
Flowers of more mingled hue
Than her purfled scarf can shew."

Shakespeare, *Tempest*, IV, i, 77:

"Hail, many-colour'd messenger, that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter," etc.

Hebe. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 400 f.: Milton, *L'Allegro*, 29:

". . . and wreathèd Smiles,
Such as hang on Hebe's cheek."

Comus, 290; T. Moore, *Hebe*; J. R. Lowell, *Hebe*.

Ganymede. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 155 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, VII, 219:

"Jove Dardana pubes gaudet avo."

Milton, *Paradise Regained*, II, 352:

"Tall stripling youths rich-clad, of fairer hue
Than Ganymed or Hylas."

Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*, III, i, 24:

"Pour forth heaven's wine, Idæan Ganymede,
And let it fill the Dædal cups like fire."

Tennyson, *Palace of Art*:

"Or else flush'd Ganymede, his rosy thigh
Half buried in the Eagle's down,
Sole as a flying star shot thro' the sky
Above the pillar'd town."

9. **Athena, the Goddess of Wisdom.***—Athena and Athens, the goddess who represents the distinctive traits of classical Greece, and the city in which this intellectual development found its highest expression—the two were as closely linked in ancient life as in our modern thought. Athena ranks second among the gods because she is the personification of wisdom. The story of her birth, so often represented in the art of Athens, put the matter as follows: Zeus married Metis (μῆτις, "insight"), but, forewarned that a son by her would be stronger than himself, he swallowed her; that is, Zeus absorbed "Insight." Then from his own head came forth personified Wisdom, the very mind of Zeus himself. The *Homeric Hymn* † tells of Pallas,

"Whom Zeus the Counselor himself brought forth from his august head in war-gear golden and bright. . . . Quickly did the goddess leap forth from the immortal head of ægis-bearing Zeus, and stand before him shaking her sharp javelin. And mighty Olympus trembled terribly under the weight of the bright-eyed goddess; the earth around groaned sorely, the sea heaved in turmoil of purple waves, and the spray was suddenly belched forth."

She is born in full panoply, the goddess of wisdom in warfare; at Athens, however, she was worshiped quite gen-

* There is no agreement among scholars as to the derivation of the name Athena.

† *Hymn* xxviii, Edgar's translation.

erally as the patron of the arts of peace. In a temple near the market place Athena and Hephæstus were worshiped together, two guardians of human handicrafts. It was Athena who inspired the Greeks to build the wooden horse before Troy, and who directed the construction of Jason's ship, the *Argo*. The flute was her invention—soon discarded, according to Attic story. The best gift of Athena to her home city was the olive tree. The grove of olive trees in the Academy was peculiarly sacred to her, and from its fruit was made the oil that the goddess gave as a prize to victors in the Panathenaic games. She was the foster mother of that child of the Attic soil, Erichthonius. Indeed all the fruits of the soil were under her protection, so that the farmer as well as the artisan looked to her as his patron. Homer called the products of women's art the "works of Athena" (ἔργα Ἀθηναίας). The story of Arachne who was made a spider (ἀράχνη) for daring to compete with Athena in weaving, the gift of a skillfully wrought peplos to Athena at the culmination of the Panathenaic festival, and the very name Ergane, indicate that Athena was still the patron of feminine arts in classical Greece. Near the entrance to the Acropolis at Athens was a statue of Athena Hygieia; the art of the physician was under her protection in so far as it was a nascent science. Artisan and farmer, the woman skilled to make beautiful fabrics, and the physician, united in her worship; for to them all she was the personification of that practical wisdom on which their success depended. The heroes like Odysseus, with whom she stands in close connection, are men distinguished by this same characteristic.

Athena's Birth. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 752:

> "All on a sudden miserable pain
> Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum
> In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast

FIG. 22.—MARBLE STATUE IN THE STYLE OF PHEIDIAS (a head from Bologna has been placed on a figure in Dresden).

Athena stands, wearing the ægis, and probably carrying her helmet in her right hand.

Threw forth, till on the left side op'ning wide,
Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,
Then shining heav'nly fair, a goddess arm'd,
Out of thy head I sprung. Amazement seiz'd
All th' host of Heaven; back they recoil'd afraid
At first, and call'd me Sin, and for a sign
Portentous held me . . ."

Pope, *Dunciad*, I, 10:

"Ere Pallas issued from the Thund'rer's head."

Goddess of Wisdom. Virgil, *Æneid*, V, 704:

". . . , Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte."

Byron, *Childe Harold*, II, 91:

"Which sages venerate and bards adore,
As Pallas and the Muse unveil their awful lore."

10. **Athena, the Goddess of War and of the State; Nike.**— On the two pediments of the Parthenon Pheidias depicted the two most important myths of Athena: on the east pediment the story of her birth, and on the west the story of her contest with Poseidon for the land of Attica. Both gods claimed this land, we are told, and it was to fall to the one who gave the greatest boon to its inhabitants. Poseidon struck his trident on the Acropolis rock and a salt spring burst forth, perhaps typifying to the Athenians of the fifth century the sea that was the seat of their empire. Athena's gift was the olive tree, and to her was adjudged the prize. As the patron of artisans, if not herself a water goddess, the "Triton-born" might lay claim to seamanship as a part of her own sphere. Athena was worshiped also as the god of horsemanship; for her wisdom devised bit and harness, her skill trained the first horses for human use. Thus Athena invaded both parts of Poseidon's sphere.

The fact that Athena taught men to train horses for battle is the least part of her activity in connection with

Fig. 23.—The Parthenon as it Appears To-day when Seen from the West.

war. In Homer she is "Pallas Athena," the goddess who brandishes (πάλλω) the spear; the "sacker of cities," the "tireless" in strife, the "collector of booty," she represents all phases of human warfare. Still there is marked contrast between Ares and Athena, in that Ares represents the wild spirit of impetuous attack, while Athena is a war goddess because she is a goddess of practical skill. Generalship and stratagem are her gifts, but no less than generalship that skill in the use of weapons by which one hero could turn the tide of an Homeric battle. As a war goddess she takes a prominent part in the conflict of the gods and Titans (or giants). Her special opponent is Enceladus; her victory, the victory of divine wisdom over force and violence. This victory served as the theme for the scenes embroidered on the Panathenaic peplos, the festal robe of the maiden war goddess. For Athena at Athens was a war goddess. She had been born in full armor; her birth was celebrated by dances of men in full armor; in her temple statues, she has spear and shield and helmet. As at Athens the repulse of the Persians was accredited to Athena, so in other cities her function as protectress in war was put in the foreground. At Athens, however, she became the special guardian of the state in all its activities:

FIG. 24.—STATUETTE FOUND NEAR THE VARVAKEION AND NOW IN THE MUSEUM AT ATHENS.

Athena Parthenos stands holding Nike on her right hand; at her left side are a serpent and a shield. A rude copy of the Athena which Pheidias made in gold and ivory for the Parthenon.

FIG. 25.—SMALL MARBLE RELIEF IN THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM AT ATHENS (fifth century B. C.).

Athena leans forward on her spear and looks down at a square pillar.

she was "Athena Polias," the city goddess, who guided the counsels of the people, furnished the city with a treasury, and represented the city in its relations with other states. Each different phase in the development of the city left its stamp on the goddess. The early agricultural classes worshiped a goddess who made the soil fruitful; the gathering of scattered villages into one city (*synoikismos*) was celebrated at the Panathenæa; the Persian wars emphasized Athena's place as the defender of the city; but she came to her full rights only with the development of the Athenian empire in the Ægean Sea.

Nike, the personification of victory in war, is so closely associated with the war goddess that the names are sometimes combined; that is, Athena is worshiped as Athena Nike. So the worship of Nike finds a place on Athena's sacred rock, the Acropolis of Athens. The goddess of victory is sometimes the messenger of the gods, announcing success to one of the combatants; sometimes the representative of the gods, present when sacrifices are offered by

FIG 26.—COIN OF SYRACUSE (about 400 B C.)

Nike is flying with a wreath above a victorious *quadriga*.

the victors. And as Athena is the goddess of practical wisdom in all lines of activity, so Nike is the embodiment of victory in athletic and musical contests, as well as of victory in battle. In art (especially on painted vases) she appears as a winged maiden running or flying to the scene in which she is to bear a part.

Athena, Goddess of War. Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 5:

"Ipse vides manibus peragi fera bella Minervæ."

Milton, *Comus*, 447:

"What was that snaky-headed Gorgon shield,
That wise Minerva wore, unconquer'd virgin,
Wherewith she freez'd her foes to congeal'd stone,
But rigid looks of chaste austerity?"

Byron, *Childe Harold*, IV, 96:

"Can . . . Freedom find . . . no child
Such as Columbia saw arise when she
Sprung forth a Pallas, arm'd and undefiled?"

Cf. also Ibid., II, 1, 2.

Nike. Bacchylides, *Fragment XI*: "Nike, Dispenser of sweet gifts, standing beside Zeus on Olympus, bright with gold, allots to mortals and immortals the prize of valor."

Athena in Greek Art.—Athena is commonly represented as the warrior maiden, either carrying the shield and brandishing the lance, or holding the spear erect with the shield leaning against it. On her head is a helmet, and over her shoulders she wears the ægis with the Gorgon's head; in the Parthenon statue she carries a figure of Nike on her right hand. The owl and the serpent often accompany her. Less commonly as the goddess of peaceful arts she carries a lamp or a distaff, or holds the helmet in her hands.

Among the more celebrated statues of Athena may be mentioned the following:

Sparta; Athena Chalkioikos by Gitiades, Sq. 357.

At Athens and at Erythræ; seated statues of Athena by Endœus, Sq. 351 f.

Athens; Athena "Promachos" by Pheidias, Sq. 637.

Athens; temple statue of Athena Parthenos by Pheidias, Sq 645 f.

Athens; Athena dedicated by Lemnian colonists; by Pheidias, Sq. 758 f.

Athens, near a gate; Athena Soteira by Cephisodotus, Sq. 1141.

Thebes, Ismenion; Athena by Scopas, Sq. 766.

11. Minerva.—Minerva (or *Menerva*) was an old Etruscan goddess of practical wisdom, in particular the patron of handicrafts to whom was due the workman's skill. Minerva had already come under Greek influence in southern Italy before her worship was brought to Rome. Because Athena was the favorite daughter of Zeus, Minerva was connected with Jupiter (and Juno) in the Capitoline triad. To Minerva fell the right-hand or western *cella* in their common temple. Her birthday in March was celebrated particularly by trades' guilds, by teachers, and by physicians. It was part of this celebration that pupils in the schools were given a holiday, on which it was customary for them to bring small presents to their teachers. That Minerva was connected in worship with Neptune as well as with Jupiter, that she was a protector of cities, that finally she was invoked as a war goddess, is entirely due to the influence of the Greek Athena.

FIG. 27.—COIN OF ARGOS (about 400 B. C.).
Head of Hera crowned with *stephanos*.

CHAPTER IV

LETO; APOLLO; ARTEMIS-DIANA

1. Leto (Latona).—The story and the worship of Leto seem to have centered in Bœotia. Elsewhere she was worshiped with Apollo and Artemis, the mother proud of her children; here in central Greece it was Leto rather than Hera who originally was the wife of Zeus and his divine queen. An august goddess, she was no fit subject for light myths; even in the "battle of the gods" in the *Iliad* * Hermes turns from her with words of respect: "Leto, with thee will I nowise fight . . . boast to thy heart's content among the immortal gods that thou didst vanquish me by might and main." Perhaps because Leto was so much a goddess, the epic poet found in Hera a better expression for his idea of the wife among the gods; certainly the connection of Zeus with Leto counted for little in Greek thought. Leto was simply the mother of Apollo and Artemis; and the idea of motherhood, the Madonna idea, found expression in Greece in the story of this divine mother. This side of her nature was foremost in the three myths of Leto—in the stories of Niobe, of Tityus, and of the birth of Apollo and Artemis.

(*a*) That any mortal woman should compare her children with Leto's was an act of presumption. To defend their mother's honor Niobe † receives dire punishment at the hands of Apollo and Artemis. The story of Niobe

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* *Iliad*, XXI, 497.

† See Chap. X, page 283.

belongs with the account of Tantalus's race; here it is enough to point out that all our pity for the human mother is meant to enhance the honor of Leto, a goddess who was the mother of gods.

(*b*) When Tityus, the earth-born giant, attacks Leto, again it is her children who come to her aid. This Tityus is heard of in other connections as a lawless disturber of

FIG. 28.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING. (Hamilton Collection).
Leto, with the babes Apollo and Artemis, turns to flee from a serpent which raises its head in front of a rocky cave.

the peace near the shrine of Apollo at Delphi. Here he is the personification of lust, seeking to destroy the purity of the family. His effort to lay violent hands on the goddess results in his speedy death at the hands of her children.

(*c*) The story of the birth of Apollo and Artemis was localized at many points in Greece, both on the islands and on the mainland. The canonical story, which found expression in the *Homeric Hymn* to the Delian Apollo, tells how Leto wandered far seeking a spot for the birth of her children. Hera's jealousy made every land afraid to harbor her, till at length Delos accepted the risk on condition that Delos should be the favorite shrine of Apollo. On this barren rock "the child (Apollo) sprang forth to the

light, and the goddesses raised the birth shout." "Then, O Phœbus, Sung of Men, did the goddesses bathe thee in fair water, clean and pure, and wrap thee in swaddling clothes, white, dainty, and newly woven, and round thee put a golden girdle. His mother suckled not Apollo of the golden sword, but Themis hanseled his immortal lips with nectar and sweet ambrosia." At the taste of ambrosia Apollo at once gained his divine powers and called for lyre and bow, while "the whole of Delos bloomed in gold, as when a hilltop is laden with tree blossoms, beholding the child of Zeus and Leto, and in joyance that the god had chosen her for his home before the isles and the mainland, and loved her more dearly." * The seventh of the month Thargelion † was thereafter celebrated as his birthday, both in Delos and on the mainland of Greece.

No doubt the Greeks who visited this rocky islet asked, as does the traveler to-day, why it should be the religious center of the Ægean. To the Greeks there was one satisfying answer: Delos had received Leto in the hour of her need; Apollo and Artemis were born in Delos, and thus it became the most important center of their joint worship.

Leto. (Story of Niobe and her children) Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 146 f.; Horace, *Odes*, IV, vi; Milton, *Arcades*, 20:

"... wise Latona"

Keats, *Endymion*, I, 862:

"Beyond the matron temple of Latona."

Horace, *Odes*, I, xxi, 1:

"Dianam teneræ dicite virgines;
intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium,
Latonamque supremo
dilectam penitus Jovi."

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* *Homeric Hymn*, I, Edgar's translation.

† The eleventh month of the Attic year, from the middle of May to the middle of June.

Delos. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, X, 295:

"As with a trident smote, and fix'd as firm
As Delos, floating once . . ."

Byron, *Don Juan*, III, lxxxvi, 1:

"The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece! . . .
Where Delos rose, and Phœbus sprung!
Eternal summer gilds them yet,
But all, except their sun, is set."

Leto in Greek Art.—Leto is ordinarily worshiped in connection with her children, and we read of few statues in which she was not represented with Artemis or with both Apollo and Artemis. Almost the only statues of Leto which can be surely identified represent her with her young children in her arms. The following statues are mentioned by ancient writers:

Mt. Lycone; Leto, Apollo, and Artemis by Polycleitus, Sq. 943.
Megara; Leto, Apollo, and Artemis by Praxiteles, Sq. 1200.
Argos; temple statue of Leto by Praxiteles, Sq. 1214.
Ephesus; Leto and Ortygia (Artemis), Sq. 1171.
(At Rome); Leto and her young children by Euphranor, Sq. 1798, 4.

2. **Apollo at Delphi; the Hyperboreans.**—The history of Delos begins with the birth of Apollo.* At Delphi, we are told, before Apollo came, the oracle was in the hands of Themis (a name for the mother earth); or again it is a serpent, Pytho, which guards the oracle and preserves it sacred. The serpent, like the serpent with which Cadmus fought, may be but a personification of the spirit of the earth; it seems to have represented now the means by which oracles were given, now the baneful power which kept men from consulting the oracle. In any case it opposed the coming of Apollo; and the new god, like a Siegfried or a St.

* The ancients derived the name from ἀπολλύων, "destroyer" (cf. Æschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1081); with more probability the name of the shepherd god may be connected with ἀπέλλα, "herd."

George, must overcome the "dragon" before he wins his rightful possession. From the height of the pass above Delphi (according to Euripides,* still a youth in his mother's arms) he shot the noisome serpent and appropriated the oracle to himself. To the god of purity the death even of

FIG. 29.—VIEW OF THE RUINS OF APOLLO'S SHRINE AT DELPHI.
Processions entered through a gateway just at the left of the center of the view, and passed up the sacred way to the temple.

such a monster brought defilement. Apollo was obliged to seek purification in the north, whence he returned bringing the laurel from Tempe. Thus Delphi was won—a story which was kept alive for future ages by the dramatic representation of it in connection with the worship at Delphi. The name of the place was now Pytho (*πυνθάνομαι*, $\sqrt{}$ *πυθ*, "to inquire"), for here men sought wisdom from the god of light himself.

* *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 1250.

FIG. 30.—CENTRAL FIGURES IN THE WEST PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA (about 450 B. C.). Apollo stands in the midst of the conflict of Lapiths and Centaurs, unseen by them, but really present to guarantee the victory of order over lawlessness.

According to Delphic legend Apollo presided over the oracle only during the summer months. Far away beyond the north, where all was light and peace—for so the Greeks construed the story of a long polar day—lived the Hyperboreans, a god-fearing folk who worshiped Apollo. Just where this land was, the Greeks did not agree. But here was the home of Apollo in winter; hither, drawn in winged car by swans or griffins, he went each autumn; and each spring the worshipers at Delphi watched to welcome him on his return.

At Delphi Apollo was honored as the god of light and of purity, the god who fostered athletic games, the god of death as well as the god of life. And he was honored as the god of inspiration: he inspired the prophetess to answer the questions of those who came to consult the oracle; he taught the physician to divine the secret of disease and its remedy; music was his heaven-sent gift. In the first aspect of his being he is the archer god; in the second, the god of the lyre.

Python Slain. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 416 f.

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, X, 529:

> "Now Dragon grown, larger than whom the sun
> Engender'd in the Pythian vale on slime,
> Huge Python . . ."

Pope, *Thebais*, I, 664:

> "When by a thousand darts the Python slain
> With orbs unroll'd lay cov'ring all the plain."

Shelley, *Adonais*, xxviii:

> "How they fled,
> When, like Apollo, from his golden bow,
> The Pythian of the age one arrow sped . . ."

Hyperboreans. Cf. *Hymn of Alcæus* in Himerius, *Orationes*, XIV, 10, and the hymns discovered by the French excavators at Delphi.

3. **Apollo, the Archer God.**—In the post-classic period Artemis was identified with the moon, and Apollo with the sun. While no such thought was generally held by the Greeks, there can be no doubt that Apollo was the god of light, as in fact the very name Phœbus shows. The Apollo who accidentally slew his favorite Hyacinthus while throwing the discus,* seems to have been originally the sun before which wither the flowers of spring. Apollo Del'phinios was the sailor's god, the god of light as opposed to the storm and darkness that made the sea dangerous. At Athens Apollo was worshiped in May to protect the ripening crops and ward off the danger of drought. Light was the secret of growth, so that the god of light became an agricultural god. Connected with this worship at Athens were rites of purification. Light was the symbol of purity, and the light god not only demanded purity in his worshipers, but also guided the rites by which the taint of guilt could be removed. It was in this worship that condemned criminals took the part of scapegoats (*pharmakoi*), with the idea that in their death for their own crimes they purged the state of all the evil that was endangering it. The influence of this god, particularly through his worship at Delphi, was potent in establishing a connection in Greece between religion and morality.

The sun in Greece was a force that made for life, and at certain seasons of the year it made for death. So Apollo is a god of battle, at home with Trojan and Greek in the field before Troy. It was Apollo who "descended from Olympus wroth at heart, bearing on his shoulder his bow and covered quiver. . . . Then he sate him aloof from the ships, and let an arrow fly; and there was heard a dread clanging of the silver bow . . . and the pyres of the dead burned continually in multitude." † It was Apollo whose

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* See Chap. X, page 276.

† *Iliad*, I, 44 f.

shafts destroyed the sons of Niobe, and Eurytus also who dared to rival him in skill with his bow. Possibly the story of Idas who won his bride Marpessa from the grasp of Apollo refers to this same death god—an example of love claiming its object from the very hands of death himself. But on the whole, the light and warmth of summertime stand for life and growth. Apollo is the god who wards off evil in general (*Alexikakos*); and in particular he is the protector of youth. To him the youth sacrificed his hair at maturity, he watched over the athletic games and the palæstra, he was himself the ideal expression of young manhood for the Greeks. Hermes also was the god of young men; but Hermes was rather their patron and protector, Apollo the distant ideal of all they could hope or wish to be. The *Lykeion* (in English, *Lyceum*) was a gymnasium under the patronage of Apollo at Athens; it was in the fields and with the flocks, however, that he found his proper home. He himself had tended the cattle of Laomedon on Ida, and the flocks of Admetus in Thessaly. The wood nymphs, especially in Thessaly, kindled his love; for example, Coronis the mother of Asclepius, and Cyrene for whom the city of Cyrene in Africa was named. By Cyrene, Apollo became the father of Aristæus (the word means *best*), himself a god of flocks and of bee-keeping. Shepherds worshiped Apollo as their patron and the god who warded off evil from their charge; for he was Lykios, the god who kept the wolves from the flocks. A chorus in Euripides * gives some idea of the songs the shepherds sang to Apollo.†

As the god of light, the patron of youth, the protector

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* *Alcestis*, 1569 f.

† For other myths of Apollo, see Chap. XI, § 1, for the contest of Heracles and Apollo for the Delphic tripod; Chap. X, vi, § 3 for the story of Creusa and Ion; and Chap. VII, § 6 for the account of Coronis and Asclepius.

of flocks, Apollo was conceived as the archer god. He is a youth in the prime of his power with quiver and bow as the symbols of his nature.

PARTIAL LIST OF THE EPITHETS OF APOLLO IN THESE ASPECTS.

God of Light.	God of Vegetation.	God of Flocks.	God of Youth.
Chrysokomes.	Hyakinthos.	Aristaios .	Alexikakos.
Delphinios.	Parnopios.	Karneios.	Kourotrophos.
Lykios ("light").	Smintheus.	Galaxios.	Hekaërgos.
Phoibos.	Thargelios.	Lykios ("wolf").	Hekatos.
		Maleatas.	
		Nomios.	
		Tragios.	

Apollo. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, ii, 29:

"For golden Phœbus, now ymounted hie,
From fiery wheeles of his faire chariot
Hurled his beame so scorching cruell hot,
That living creature mote it not abide."

Shakespeare very frequently refers to the sun as Phœbus.

Hyacinthus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 185 f.

Milton, *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, IV:

"For so Apollo, with unweeting hand,
Whilom did slay his dearly-lovèd mate,
Young Hyacinth, born on Eurotas' strand,
Young Hyacinth, the pride of Spartan land;
But then transform'd him to a purple flower."

4. **Apollo with the Lyre.**—The Greeks had no sacred book in which were revealed to them the precepts of right living and the character of their gods. For a knowledge of the will of the gods they turned to men possessed by the divine spirit, to oracles, or to omens. All these different forms of revelation fell within the special sphere of Apollo,

for the favorite son of Zeus was the medium through whom the gods revealed their purposes to men. Even when Zeus thundered or sent some omen of birds in the sky, it was the prophet with the spirit of Apollo who interpreted the signs. The fate of Troy, so runs the legend, was clearly foretold by Cassandra, Priam's daughter; but her words were not believed. This was explained as a punishment sent by Apollo. When Cassandra rejected the love of the god, he granted her the gift of prophecy by which she could foresee the future with all it contained for her people, and at the same time he made the people of Troy deaf to her words. Amphiaraüs exemplified in his just life the character of the god who had endowed him with foresight.* So the seers whose oracles were hawked about Greece, and the Sibyl herself, derived their inspiration from Apollo. In the historic period this inspiration was active at certain oracular shrines. Didymi near Miletus in Asia Minor, and Delphi in Greece proper, were perhaps

FIG. 31.—MARBLE STATUE OF THE PALATINE APOLLO, NOW IN THE VATICAN (copy of the work of Scopas? Fourth century B. C.?).

Apollo, crowned with laurel, advances playing the lyre.

* See Chap. X, iv, § 4, Myths of Thebes.

the most important of these oracles; but each section of the country had some spot where the god could be consulted. At Delphi it was a woman, the Pythian priestess, who became possessed by the spirit of the god when she mounted his tripod and inhaled the mephitic vapors of the place. The question of the man who came to consult the oracle was answered by her incoherent ravings, which the priests of the shrine put into hexameter verse in some not too unintelligible form.

Apollo was the god of healing, in that he inspired the physician as well as the prophet. The insight to detect the causes of disease, and the power to divine the proper remedies, were regarded as his special gift. This power was ordinarily exercised through Pæan, properly the god of healing incantations, or through Asclepius, the son of Apollo. Still Apollo was the patron of physicians and the ultimate source of their inspiration.

Finally Apollo was the god of music. For music, too, is a gift from god; the human spirit must be touched by the divine spirit before the lyre or the flute will charm the hearts of those who listen.* It is said that Hermes, the god of shrewd inventions, first strung cords across a tortoise shell to make musical sounds, but the lyre was the special property of Apollo. In their worship of Apollo men held contests in playing the lyre or the flute, or choruses would dance and sing in his honor. He inspired the musician just as he inspired the prophet or the physician; and men felt touched by the god's power as the music swayed their souls. The gods, too, loved music; at their feasts Apollo himself was the musician, leading the choir of the Muses. Perhaps because the lyre was the most universal medium through which men felt the divine spirit directly touch-

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* For the contest of Apollo and Marsyas, see Introduction, § 5, Note, p. 21, and Chap. V, § 2, p. 144.

ing them, the lyre is the symbol of Apollo the god of inspiration.

Oracles—Delphi. Virgil, *Æneid*, II, 114 f.; Horace, *Odes*, I, xxxi; Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, II, i; III, i, ii; Milton, *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, XIX:

> "Apollo from his shrine
> Can no more divine,
> With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.
> No nightly trance, or breathèd spell,
> Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell."

Keats, *Hymn to Apollo*; Byron, *Childe Harold*, III, 81:

> ". . . He was inspired, and from him came,
> As from the Pythian's mystic cave of yore,
> Those oracles which set the world in flame."

Music—the Lyre. Virgil, *Æneid*, XII, 391 f.; Horace, *Odes*, IV vi, 25 f.

Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 343:

> "Bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair."

Schiller, *Das Eleusische Fest*:

> "Aber aus den goldnen Saiten
> Lockt Apoll die Harmonie
> Und das holde Mass der Zeiten
> Und die Macht der Melodie.
> Mit neunstimmigem Gesange
> Fallen die Kamönen ein . . ."

Tennyson, *Tithonus*:

> "Like that strange song I heard Apollo sing,
> While Ilion like a mist rose into towers."

M. Arnold, *Empedocles on Etna*, II: Apollo and Marsyas in first song of Callicles; second song of Callicles (quoted under "Muses," p. 109).

Apollo in Greek Art.—Except in early vase paintings Apollo is always represented as in the prime of youth, and unbearded. Sometimes a nude Apollo carries a fawn in his hand; more commonly

he holds the bow; Apollo as leader of the Muses is draped in the long garment of the cithara player and carries a lyre. The following celebrated statues may be mentioned:

Sicyon; Apollo and other gods by Dipœnis and Scyllis, Sq. 321.

Delos; Apollo with bow in one hand and Charites in the other; by Tectæus and Angelion, Sq. 335.

Didymi near Miletus; Apollo with bow and fawn; by Canachus, Sq. 404 f.

Athens; Apollo Alexikakos by Calamis, Sq. 508.

Apollonia; colossal Apollo by Calamis, Sq. 509 f.

Ephesus; Apollo by Myron, Sq. 533.

Apollo slaying the Python; by Pythagoras of Rhegium, Sq. 499.

Athenian Acropolis; Apollo Parnopios by Pheidias, Sq. 770.

Chryse; Apollo Smintheus by Scopas, Sq. 1168.

Rhamnous; Apollo with lyre by Scopas, Sq. 1159–1160.

Bronze Apollo Sauroktonos by Praxiteles, Sq. 1217 f.

Antiocheia; Apollo by Bryaxis, Sq. 1321 f.

The Apollo Belvedere (Fig. 5, p. 48) has sometimes been regarded as a copy from a work of Leochares.

5. **Artemis, the Goddess of Nature Life.**—In order to understand the Greek conception of Artemis * it is necessary to discard any connection between this goddess and the moon; it is necessary even to go back of the relation between Artemis and her brother Apollo. Artemis is on the one hand the goddess of nature life, as it were a queen among the nymphs; on the other hand she becomes a maiden goddess closely associated with Apollo. Naturally the latter side of her being comes to be emphasized in mythology, but in worship it never eclipses the more primitive conception of her character.

Throughout the ancient world the idea of fertility in nature was associated with a female divinity. Anaita in

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* It is suggested by Robert that the name "Artemis" is derived from the root which appears in ἀρταμεῖν, "to slay" (cf. Sophocles, *Fragment*, 848).

Persia, the Semitic Astarte, Ma in Asia Minor, Bendis in Thrace, stood for much the same thought. In Greece different phases of this conception were expressed by different goddesses; for example, the influence of sex led to the worship of Aphrodite as goddess of nature life, Demeter (cf. Leto, Gaia, etc.) represented the mother earth as the source of life, local nymphs personified the same life principle on a small scale as it appeared in a spring or a tree. Artemis was the name the Greeks gave to the early mother goddess of Ephesus and to the Thracian Bendis; but properly speaking Artemis stands for something different from either Demeter or Aphrodite. She stands for the fact of life itself as it exists in wild nature. It is Artemis who demands vengeance for the doe slain by Agamemnon; she sends the boar to ravage Ætolia where she has not been honored; in Brauron in Attica she is worshiped as the bear goddess; in the Peloponnese she is worshiped in the fastnesses of nature, and the people themselves did not always know whether they were worshiping the nymph Callisto or Artemis under the name Callisto,* Taÿgete or Artemis Taÿgete, Atalante or Artemis Atalante. Artemis is almost necessarily a different goddess in different places for she stands for the wild life present now in the mountain glade, now in the swampy forest, wherever animals delight to roam. Her symbols are the bear, the boar, the wild goat, and the quail (Artemis is said to have been born in Quail-land, Ortygia). She is the associate of wild beasts, their protector and their queen; and when in the course of time she is so far humanized that she becomes a huntress, even then her love for wild animals and their haunts is far more marked than her desire to kill them. Such a goddess has an element of wildness in her nature, so that she is easily angered; the dire effects of her

* Cf. Introduction, page 16.

anger are depicted in the story of Iphigeneia* and again in the account of the Calydonian boar.† Probably it is as the goddess of nature life that she comes to preside over childbirth, and that she specially cares for the young of animals as she cares for children.

Artemis, the Nature Goddess. Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 498 f.:

"Qualis in Eurotæ ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutæ
hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis;
Latonæ tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus."

Cf. *Æneid*, XI, 582; Horace, *Carmen Seculare*, 1; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 174 f. (story of Actæon); Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, vii, 5; I, xii, 7; Milton, *Comus*, 441:

"Hence had the huntress Dian her dread bow,
Fair silver-shafted queen, for ever chaste,
Wherewith she tam'd the brinded lioness
And spotted mountain pard, but set at nought
The frivolous bolt of Cupid."

Ibid., *Paradise Lost*, IX, 386:

". . . like a wood nymph light,
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
Betook her to the groves; but Delia's self
In gait surpass'd and goddess-like deport,
Though not as she with bow and quiver arm'd."

Dryden, *Secular Masque*, 27 f.; Pope, *Summer*, 62:

"And chaste Diana haunts the forest-shade."

Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, I, i, 316:

"Like stately Phœbe 'mongst her nymphs."

6. **Artemis, the Sister of Apollo.**—In strange contrast with this "queen of wild beasts," the personification of wild life in nature, is the chaste sister of Apollo. Perhaps

* See Chapter XIII, § 2. † See Chapter X, vii, § 1.

FIG. 32.—THE ARTEMIS OF VERSAILLES, NOW IN THE LOUVRE
(marble copy of a Hellenistic work).

Artemis draws an arrow from her quiver as she hastens forward beside a stag

the original link between brother and sister was the fact that one stood for the Greek ideal of youth, the other for the ideal of maidenhood. Whatever the reason, the two became more and more alike, and that without being brought into any direct connection with each other, so far as we may learn from mythology. The more important myths of Apollo were simply transferred to Artemis. No longer is her birthplace Ortygia, but Delos (or Ortygia is treated as another name for Delos); for she becomes the twin sister of Apollo. She has no important place in Delphic worship, but in the story of the slaying of the Python she plays a part. And as Apollo goes each winter to the Hyperboreans, occasionally Artemis is said to make the same journey. In a word these three myths are transferred to Artemis, though the brother and the sister are not thereby brought into any closer relation with each other. Perhaps the bow belonged to Artemis quite as much as to Apollo, but music and the dance were added to her sphere because she was the sister of the god of music. She received a whole series of epithets from Apollo: she was called Lykeia, Pythia, Delphinia, and Daphnia, as Apollo was called Lykeios,

FIG. 33.—ARTEMIS FROM GABII, NOW IN THE LOUVRE (a work in the style of Praxiteles).

Artemis, her tunic drawn up as for hunting, is fastening a mantle on her right shoulder.

Pythios, etc.; and Loxo and Hekaërga were names of the attendants of Artemis—names clearly taken from epithets of Apollo. Artemis, like Apollo, was a god whose shafts dealt sudden death. As Apollo, the god of light, had some connection with the sun, so Artemis at length became a goddess of the moon. Apollo stood for the purity of the light of heaven; perhaps it was this influence which emphasized the purity of his sister, till the wild spirit of nature was transformed into the chaste maiden. Certainly as Apollo was the patron of youth, so Artemis came more and more to express a similar ideal of young womanhood in Greece; while both in the case of Apollo and of Artemis a dignity almost severe exalted these ideals into the realm of the gods. Artemis found pleasure in the worship of young girls; and, when they married, she received the dolls with which they had played and locks of their hair as tokens of that earlier period when the brides had been under her special protection.

Artemis, the Moon Goddess. Virgil, *Æneid*, IX, 405; Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, pt. i, I, ii, 29; Ben Jonson, *Hymn to Diana*; Keats, *Endymion*, II, 262 f., 302.

Artemis the Chaste. Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, i, 89:

> "Or on Diana's altar to protest
> For aye austerity and single life."

Artemis in Greek Art.—As Apollo in art is the ideal of the Greek youth, so Artemis is the ideal of the young unmarried woman. She wears a sleeveless chiton, often drawn up through the girdle to give her greater freedom of motion, and the high shoes of a hunter. Ordinarily a quiver hangs from her shoulders, and she carries either a bow or a lighted torch. Often she is represented as drawing an arrow from her quiver (Artemis of Versailles, Fig. 32); in another statue (Artemis from Gabii, Fig. 33) she is putting on a mantle, perhaps one of the garments dedicated to her by young women

before marriage. A fawn, or some other wild animal, often accompanies her.

The following statues by famous sculptors may be mentioned:
Artemis (with bow and quiver?) by Scopas, Sq. 1182.
Athens: Artemis Brauronia by Praxiteles, Sq. 1215.
Antikyra; Artemis with quiver and torch by Praxiteles, Sq. 1216.
Attica (later in Rome); Artemis by Timotheus, Sq. 1328.

The most famous statue of Hecate is the statue of the triple goddess which Alcamenes made for her shrine near the entrance of the Athenian Acropolis, Sq. 817.

7. **Hecate.**—In addition to local nymphs which appear sometimes as independent spirits, sometimes as phases of Artemis, another goddess, Hecate, occupies a similar relationship to the sister of Apollo. "Hecate" is the feminine form of *Hekatos*, an epithet of Apollo. Both Artemis and Hecate are guardians of doors and gates; and in many places the worship of Hecate is carried on in connection with the worship of Artemis. Perhaps it would be fair to say that Artemis corresponds to Apollo the ideal youth, the archer god, and Hecate to Apollo the god of music and prophecy; for certainly Hecate, not Artemis, deals with mysterious spiritual forces. Hecate is worshiped most widely as the goddess who watches over gates, doors, and cross-roads. At such places rude images of her were set up as shrines, and offerings of food were made at the time

FIG. 34.—RELIEF SAID TO HAVE BEEN FOUND ON THE ISLAND OF ÆGINA (probably of the fourth century B. C.).

Hecate is represented as a goddess with three bodies back to back; in the six hands are four torches, a pitcher, and a sacrificial bowl.

of the new moon. Thus Hecate presided over the entrance to the Acropolis at Athens. The image for this shrine was made by the sculptor Alcamenes; its form, three figures placed back to back, was apparently suggested by the fact that Hecate was worshiped where a road forks; that is, where she would be looking in three directions. Her worship was carried on at night; and as she was thought to roam the streets on moonlight nights, it is no wonder that she became a goddess of magic and secret arts, no wonder that ghostly beings followed in her train, no wonder that dogs barking at the moon were associated with such a goddess and even were offered to her in sacrifice. The practice of burying the dead along the streets outside the city gates was one more link between Hecate and mysterious spirits.

Hecate. Virgil, *Æneid*, IV, 511; 609:

"Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes."

Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 141; *Metamorphoses*, XIV, 405:

"longis Hecaten ululatibus orat."

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, i, 43:

"The Sprite then gan more boldly him to wake,
And threatned unto him the dreaded name
Of Hecate."

Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, IV, i, 39; *Hamlet*, III, ii, 268:

"Thou mixture rank, of midnight weeds collected,
With Hecate's ban thrice blasted, thrice infected,
Thy natural magic and dire property
On wholesome life usurp immediately."

8. **Apollo and Diana at Rome.**—Apollo at Rome was worshiped as the god of prophecy, and as the god powerful to cleanse away the evil which attracted divine wrath. The Sibyl was his mouthpiece. Naturally oracular books were consulted in time of extreme danger, and Apolline oracles

referred to Apollo as the special source of help. Thus the rites introduced into Rome in early days were essentially Greek rites in which the first place was assigned to Apollo. In the religious reforms of Augustus, Apollo and Diana as the patron gods of the new imperial residence on the Palatine received special honor in the "secular" festival. It was for this occasion that Horace wrote his *Carmen Seculare*; in the words of the inscription describing the feast, "carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus." The god thus made conspicuous as the patron of the Cæsars is none other than the Greek god whose worship had by this time become established at Rome.

Diana, on the other hand, was originally a goddess honored at many points in central Italy. The name is the feminine form of Janus; and as Janus* was the god who presided over beginnings, so Diana was the guardian of those treaties by which peaceful relations were begun. First in her grove at Aricia she presided over the league of Latin cities; later her worship found a new center at Rome, for then treaties were made with Rome. Diana is known to us mainly as the patron of women, and their protector in childbirth; in the groves which were her sanctuaries have been found numerous objects dedicated by women in gratitude for her aid. As the goddess of women she represented an important side of the functions of Artemis, so that the two were identified, and Diana was joined with Apollo in the Greek worship of the *lectisternium*. Thereafter Diana became hardly more than the Roman name for Artemis.

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* See Chapter IX, §1, page 246.

CHAPTER V

GODS OF THE EARTH, THE WATER, AND THE SKY

1. **Nature Gods: Gaia.**—The gods which have been considered in the two preceding chapters are so many-sided that they can be classed only as the gods which are supreme in the Olympian system. We shall next take up those gods which represent primarily some element or aspect of nature. These will include both the divinities connected with the elements of the physical world, and also the gods of vegetable and animal life; the two groups are treated in this chapter and in the following chapter.

It is important to understand as far as possible that attitude of the Greeks toward nature which led to the worship of these divinities. There was almost nothing of that sentiment of pleasure in the facts and phenomena of nature which we feel to-day; our love of the mountains and the plains and the sea, our enjoyment of a waterfall, our delight in an extended view, played little or no part in the life of the Greeks. On the other hand the mystery of nature, the constant changes from night to day, from summer to winter, the reproduction of life and the solemn fact of death—such things as these excited the imagination of the Greek and entered into his religion. Instead of an æsthetic sentiment for nature, he cultivated a feeling of real direct sympathy with nature; he even sought a mystic union with the wonderful processes of the physical world. As men's moods change now with veering winds or respond to changes in the humidity of the atmosphere, so the sensi-

tive Greek responded to the various phenomena of the external world.

And first it is the earth itself, Gaia or Ge, which finds a place in religion and myth. The visible mystery of the sprouting seed has led every people to reverence the mother earth; so in Greece she is the mother of all things good and bad. As the wife of Uranus (Heaven) she gave birth to Cronus and the Titans; the giants were children of the earth in later time; the seasons (Horæ) were her fair daughters; and "from her store are fed all things that are in the world, both things which move over the divine earth, and in the sea, and the things which fly." * Gaia also is the nursing mother (*Kourotrophos*), who cares for all her children. Wealth comes to man from the crops she bears. And at length she receives back the bodies of the dead into her broad bosom. Either because the abode of souls (which "inspire" prophets) is in the earth, or perhaps because the earth in some spots exhales intoxicating gases, Gaia is regarded as the first prophet to foretell the future. But just as Helios, literally the sun, is too definite to be the theme of much mythology, so Gaia, the name for the earth men tread on, is so transparent a name that the goddess could not become a factor in myth.

2. **Rhea-Cybele; Magna Mater.**—Rhea in Crete, and Cybele in Asia Minor † are names for the great mother of the gods, who seems to be none other than the earth. Rhea found a prominent place in general mythology as the mother of Zeus, Poseidon, and other Olympian divinities. Her home was among the mountains of Crete, and there the birth of Zeus was localized. That the death as well as the birth of Zeus was celebrated in Crete is evidence enough

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* *Homeric Hymn*, xxx.

† Rhea is perhaps another form of γέα (γῆ, earth); Cybele is said to refer to the mountain caves of Asia Minor (Hesychius, Stephanus Byzantius, *sub voce*).

that the worship of this region centered about the change of the seasons. Zeus stands for the vegetable life which appears in the spring, his mother is that earth from which spring the plants and the flowers. The Curetes, who executed war dances about the newborn babe, were prototypes of the later priesthood of a warlike god. At the same time their kindly spirit, their shepherd duties, their discovery of metals, their home in the mountain cave, indicate that these priests were not unlike the people; that is, the attendants of the god live the life of the other inhabitants of the Cretan mountains.

Cybele is the name most widely used for the "great mother" in Asia Minor. In self-abandoning sympathy with nature the people of Phrygia gave themselves up to orgiastic joy in the renewal of plant life, or to sadness at its end. It was a wild mountainous country where this worship flourished; wild spirits shared the rites, the lion and other wild animals followed in the train of the goddess or drew her car; and the worship was as wild as its participants. In Crete Zeus was born and died each year. At many points in Asia Minor it was a youth with Syrian name, Attis, who played this part. In a cave on Mt. Dindymon was kept the meteor stone which was his symbol, while near by his grave was pointed out. Elsewhere a fir tree was decked out and wreathed in his honor—a very Christmas tree, but that it symbolized the beautiful young god who died and was born again each year, as plant life withered and sprang up again in the spring. Attis was the beloved of Cybele; it was the joy and grief of Cybele in which the worshipers shared. Briefly the story of Attis is as follows:

An almond tree, fertilized by the river Sangarius, brought forth a beautiful boy who grew up with wild goats and later became a shepherd. The king's daughter fell in love with him and was on the point of marrying him; but his beauty had also attracted the heart of the earth mother.

Appearing at the wedding she scattered the assembly in sudden insanity, and Attis himself ran to the mountains and slew himself. Zeus heard the prayers of the earth mother for her beloved, but he could grant her only that the body of Attis should remain intact, his hair grow, and his little finger move, as in truth the fir tree keeps its foliage in the winter and moves with the wind.

Again in more fertile regions the same mother god, like the Greek Demeter, presided over agriculture. Both grain and the vine were her gift to man—the gift of mother earth. Inasmuch as she was the chief god of Phrygia, she came to preside even over cities. It was in this aspect of her being that she was represented with the turreted crown of city walls. Gordias and Midas find a place in the myths of Rhea Cybele, as the goddess of agriculture and civilization. Both father and son were said to be the founders of agriculture in that they invented the plow, made known the vine and the grains, and taught men how to cultivate them. The fabulous riches given them by the earth mother are none other than the fruits of the earth. It was the discoverer of wine who mixed it in the spring and so caught Silenus by making him drunk. It was a being close to nature, this Midas, who had ass's ears, as Silenus had the ears and tail of a horse. Only later are these ears explained as a punishment for the king who thought that Marsyas could make more beautiful music than Apollo.* Midas was honored as the son of Rhea Cybele, and her first priest. Gordias, his father, widely known because he gave his name to the "Gordian knot," was the first king of Phrygia, whom Cybele herself accepted as a husband.

The goddess of nature life, so prominent in Crete and in Asia Minor, was worshiped also in Greece proper. The turret crown, the cymbals, and the attendant lions, which

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* Cf. Introduction, § 5, Note, page 21.

were attributes of the Mother God (Mater) at Athens,* indicate that the guardian of the state archives at Athens was originally the same as the nature goddess of the land across the Ægean.

It was from Asia Minor that the worship of the *Magna Mater Idæa* was introduced into Rome. At the spring equinoctial the story of Attis was reënacted here. The sacred firs of Attis were borne about in holy procession; with wild expression of grief the priests cut themselves till they were covered with blood; then on the return of Attis, priests and people gave themselves up to joy unrestrained. In the wilder parts of this worship the Romans themselves were forbidden to participate; it was carried on entirely by priests imported from Phrygia.

Among the mythical attendants of Rhea Cybele were the Corybantes and the Dactyli of Mt. Ida. The former, like the Curetes, were prototypes of later priests. Working themselves into an ecstasy by wild dances to weird music, they thought to cast off the evil contamination of the world and even to gain insight into the future. The Dactyli on the other hand were idealized inhabitants of the region. Now magicians in the service of Cybele, now the inventors of musical instruments, they were properly workers of the metals which were found among the mountains. "Furnace," "Smith," "Anvil," etc., were their names. They belong in the train of Cybele; for the mother earth, especially in these wild regions, furnishes wealth in metals.

Cybele. Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 111:

"Hinc Mater cultrix Cybeli, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus; hinc fida silentia sacris,
et juncti currum dominæ subiere leones."

* The temple statue of this shrine was made by Agoracritus, a pupil of Pheidias; the type appears in a number of extant reliefs (e. g., see Harrison-Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, Figs. 9–11, pp. 44 f.).

Cf. Ibid., XI, 768.

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, vi, 15:

"Or Cybele's franticke rites have made them mad."

Milton, *Arcades*, 21:

"Or the tower'd Cybele,
Mother of a hundred gods."

Byron, *Childe Harold*, IV, 2:

"She looks a sea Cybele, fresh from ocean,
Rising with her tiara of proud towers."

3. **Gods of Rivers and Springs.**—(*a*) *Rivers.*—Where the water supply is sufficient, Greece is generally a fertile country; further, it is so broken up by mountain ranges that its rivers are short and variable, now torrents overflowing their banks, now all but dry. Naturally the Greeks made much of the rivers as sources of life and fertility, while at the same time they thought of them as wild impetuous beings. According to Hesiod the rivers were the sons of Oceanus and Tethys (a name for the earth). The father was pictured either as like his sons, a bearded man with horns, or as a sea god, accompanied by crabs and other creatures of the sea. The river gods themselves were represented now in the form of a winding serpent, now as bulls—for the mountain streams roared and dashed wildly about; but most commonly as bulls with horned human heads. The fertility of the fields was their direct gift. Indirectly the civilization based on agriculture was referred to them. And again, because their waters made the crops grow, the river gods were thought to nurture all life. In return for their

FIG. 35.—COIN OF SELINUS (about 400 B. C.).

The river god Selinus is pouring a libation on an altar with flame; before the altar is a cock, and behind the god a bull on a pedestal.

protection and nurture the Greek youth at maturity offered his hair to the river god, the symbol of growth to the god who had given the growth. As the sources of vegetation they came to be regarded as the sources even of mankind; the Asopus was the parent of the people of Sicyon. Inachus at Argos, and Cephisus in Bœotia were early kings born of the rivers of these lands. Finally some rivers—for instance, the Caïcus in Mysia—possessed the gift of healing, which they exercised for the benefit of the human race.*

Fig. 36.—Coin of Syracuse (about 400 B. C.).

Head of Arethusa surrounded by dolphins; on one of the dolphins is the name of the artist Cimon.

(*b*) *Springs.*—While the rivers were regarded as wild impetuous beings of the male sex, the gods of springs and fountains were fair nymphs (the Naiads). Their waters too could heal from disease, sometimes they could inspire with prophetic frenzy; so the spring nymphs came within the sphere of Apollo and even were regarded as themselves Muses in his train. Spring waters were used for religious purposes, because "living water" purifies from what is evil. Springs also fertilized the land about them; similarly their waters were thought to make a marriage fruitful. The nymphs had groves planted around their springs; sometimes spring houses were erected, and wreaths of flowers were hung up by grateful worshipers.

Amaltheia was such a nymph, her "horn of plenty" filled with the blessings which waters bring. Arethusa

* The statue of the Nile in the Vatican Museum and of the Tiber in the Louvre represent these rivers as mature men reclining in the midst of the plants, animals, etc., which are fed by their waters.

(the Waterer?) was in many places the name of the spring nymph. The best known Arethusa is the nymph who fled the wooing of the river Alpheius in Elis, and by grace of Artemis escaped under the sea to Sicily. Ægina, Rhodos, Salamis, Thebe are spring nymphs known each by the name of the locality where the spring was situated. Prymno (Waterfall), Plexaure (Spray), Galaxaure (Air Cooler), Acaste (Chastity), Callirhoë (Fair Flowing), Doris (Giver), Telesto (Initiation)—such are some of the names given to spring nymphs in poetry and in myth.

Alpheius. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V, 572 f.; Ibid., VIII, 549; Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 694:

> "Alpheum fama est huc, Elidis amnem,
> occultas egisse vias subter mare; qui nunc
> ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis."

Milton, *Arcades*, 28:

> "Of famous Arcady ye are, and sprung
> Of that renownèd flood, so often sung,
> Divine Alpheus, who, by secret sluice,
> Stole under seas to meet his Arethuse."

Cf. Ibid., *Lycidas*, 85, 132; Pope, *Thebais*, I, 383; Keats, *Endymion*, II, 936 f.

Amaltheia. Milton, *Paradise Regained*, II, 355:

> ". . . and Naiades
> With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn."

Keats, *Endymion*, II, 448:

> "Sweeter than that nurse Amalthea skimm'd
> For the boy Jupiter."

Naiades. Spenser, *Prothalamium*, II; Milton, *Lycidas*, passim; Pope, *Summer*, 7; Keats, *Endymion*, II, 84 f.

4. **Gods of the Sea.**—From earliest times Greek civilization depended on the sea. It furnished the means of intercourse between different parts of the country, and the link

of connection with that fascinating older world from which Greece was constantly receiving the stimulus to her own higher development. This sea was deeper than man could measure, and extended, it was said, to the very edge of the world. Now it was man's best friend tempting him to engage in trade and adventure; now his most dangerous foe. Its sudden storms, its shoals and hidden rocks, made the sailor in constant fear of treachery. Pontus, the husband of Gaia, was the sea as man's path from harbor to harbor; of their children, Phorcys and Ceto represented the dread power of the sea, Eurybia its resistless might, Thaumas its wonders, Nereus its bountiful life.

FIG. 37.—COLOSSAL MARBLE HEAD FOUND NEAR NAPLES, NOW IN THE VATICAN.

The sea is represented as a horned old man with restless look; in his hair and beard are specimens of sea vegetation.

Nereus, Homer's kindly old man of the sea, lived in a bright cave in the ocean's depths with his daughters the sea nymphs. In Greece to-day fishermen believe in "Neraïds," a sort of mermaids with fishes' tails, occasionally seen bearing a ship in their hands. The daughters of Nereus of old appeared as fair maidens on moonlight nights, drying their hair and dancing on the sands of the shore. In the sea itself they sported with the dolphins, or made music with the Tritons. Unseen they followed the

Argonauts to ward off danger from their voyage. Some of them are known by name: Amphitrite, the wife of Poseidon; Galatea, who won the love of Polyphemus; and the leader of their dances, Thetis, who became the mother of Achilles.* The father is attended by these daughters in his palace below the sea, a kindly spirit who helped the sailor, a person of wide experience, and withal somewhat inclined to be loquacious.†

Glaucus (the shimmering sea) also was a prophet ‡ and a lover of the sea nymphs. The story told in Bœotia is as follows: A beautiful young fisherman ate a magic herb which so far took away his senses that he sprang into the sea; thereupon he became a sea spirit, half man, half fish, the special patron of fishermen and divers. Many a tale was told of the help he rendered to sailors in violent storms.

In the *Odyssey* § we read of "the daughter of Cadmus, **Ino** of the fair ankles, **Leucothea,** who in time past was a maiden of mortal speech, but now in the depths of the salt sea she had gotten her share of worship from the gods." Ino and Athamas her husband, so the story goes, pitied the young Dionysus, who was the son of her sister Semele, and took care of him. In the madness which the jealous Hera inflicted on them in consequence of this act, Athamas slew one son and drove Ino with the other son (Melicertes) over the cliffs into the sea. They were kindly received by the Nereïds, and Ino became a goddess under the name Leucothea (Shining One), and Melicertes a god with the name Palæmon. Both were worshiped widely, for they pitied sailors and saved them in time of danger. Palæmon was identified with the Italic god Portunus who protected har-

* Cf. *Iliad,* I, 357; XVIII, 38.

† For the Nereïds and for Proteus, another god whose home was in the depths of the sea, see Chapter I, pp. 56–57.

‡ Euripides, *Orestes,* 362. § V, 333 f.

bors (*portus*); while Ino-Leucothea, the goddess who had cared for the infant Dionysus, was identified with Mater Matuta.

The **Sirens,** birds with a woman's head (or a woman's body and head), were the Muses of the sea, charming and treacherous as the waters of the Mediterranean, which hid many a shoal and rock; alluring as the murmur of the waves along a pebbly beach. No man could resist the attraction of their song,* nor did any who yielded escape destruction. Such was the sweetness and the sadness of their music that fittingly they were figured on many a Greek gravestone.

The *Odyssey* describes also the monster **Scylla** with "twelve feet all dangling down, and six necks exceeding long, and on each a hideous head, and therein three rows of teeth set thick and close, full of black death." † In such a person the Greeks expressed their terror of whirlpools in the sea beneath dangerous cliffs. Perhaps the **Cyclopes** of the epic also should be included in the list of sea spirits. These creatures of fancy, with one eye, and quite outside the pale of humanity, were the children of Poseidon; such creatures the sailor might expect to meet in the realm beyond the real. On the other hand the Cyclopes of Hesiod were quite different beings, resembling the Telchines, and were children of Poseidon (the Earth Shaker) the god of volcanoes.

With such weird beings, alluring as the sea, capable of transformation as was the Mediterranean, but on the whole friendly to man quite as often as they were hostile, the Greeks peopled the sea. This list is by no means complete, for the sea was a constant stimulus to the Greek imagination; it is sufficient, however, to give these types of the sea spirits.

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* *Odyssey,* XII, 40 f. † XII, 89.

Oceanus. Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 81:

"Duxerat Oceanus quondam Titanida Tethyn."

Milton, *Comus*, 868:

"Listen, and appear to us,
In name of great Oceanus,
By the earth-shaking Neptune's mace,
And Tethys' grave majestic pace,
By hoary Nereus' wrinkled look. . .
And old soothsaying Glaucus' spell;
By Leucothea's lovely hands," etc.

Proteus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 731 f.; Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, passim; Wordsworth, *Sonnet* (1802):

"The world is too much with us . . .
. . . Great God! I'd rather be
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn;
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathèd horn."

Pope, *Dunciad*, I, 37; II, 129 f.

Nereus. Virgil, *Æneid*, II, 418:

". . . sævitque tridenti
spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet æquora fundo."

Horace, *Odes*, I, xv; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, iii, 31.

Scylla. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 730 f.; XIV, 1 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 420 f.; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 660; II, 1019:

"Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunn'd
Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool steer'd."

Sirens. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V, 551; Milton, *Comus*, 878; *Arcades*, 63; Shakespeare, *Sonnet*, cxix; D. G. Rossetti, *Sea Spell*.

Sea Gods. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, Masque in *The Maid's Tragedy*.

5. **Poseidon and Amphitrite; the Tritons.**—Poseidon * is the son of Cronus and Rhea, the brother of Zeus, Hades, etc. Myths describe him in two aspects: as the ruler of the sea, and as the god of horsemanship and of fertility. Poseidon differs radically from the other sea divinities in that he is distinctly an Olympian god. It is true that his palace is "in the deeps of the mere"; † perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that the sea is his home, for Ægæ and Helice — the centers of the worship of Poseidon — seem to be in reality names for the sea itself. Poseidon has a back broad as the sea is broad, his eyes are a gleaming blue like the blue of the waves. Out of the depths of the sea came those monsters sent by the angry god: the bull of Marathon (or Crete), the creature that brought death to Hippolytus, the dragon of the Andromeda story—all creatures as wild and heartless as the sea. The bull was sacred to Poseidon because his nature

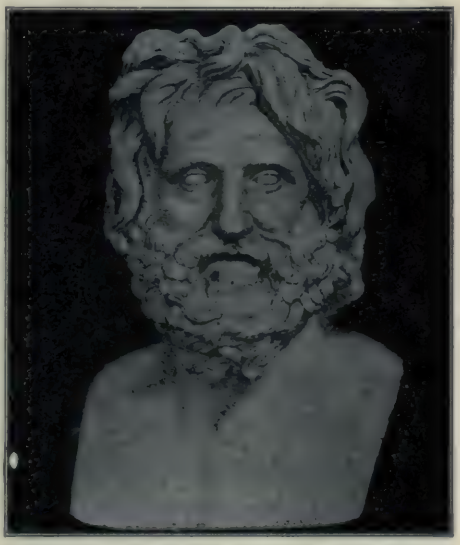

FIG. 38*a*.—MARBLE BUST FOUND AT OSTIA (?), AND NOW IN THE VATICAN.
The god Poseidon is represented as the personification of the sea itself.

* The name appears in some dialects as *Poteidan*; the root is probably that which appears in the word ποταμός, "river."

† *Iliad*, XIII, 20.

was supposed to be like the bull's; but the dolphin also was his symbol, the sign of the calm sea and of the kindly god of the sea. As himself the sea, Poseidon is called the "Earth Carrier" and the "Earth Shaker"; for men thought that the earth was floating on the sea and attributed earthquakes, which are frequent in Greece, to the instability of this foundation. Accordingly Poseidon was worshiped on the occasion of an earthquake;* catastrophes of nature, like that which split open the Vale of Tempe, were attributed to him; and he was given an important part in the battle of the gods and the giants.

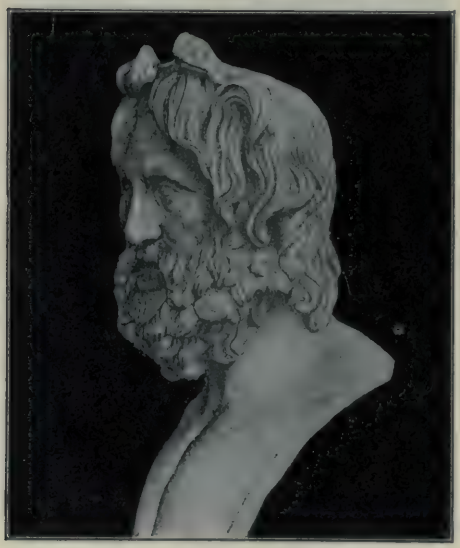

FIG. 38*b*.—SIDE VIEW OF FIG. 38*a*.

The realm of Poseidon was as wide as the sea itself. On capes and islands, on the shores of harbors, were the centers of his worship; this worship gave the god's name to Poseidonia (now Pæstum), for example, and to Tarentum (Taras was the son of Poseidon). In the myths of various sea-coast cities a story of the conflict between Poseidon and some other god is the only record left of the conflicts between wanderers from the sea and the country people of the shore for the possession of the land. The story of the

* Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, vii, 4.

rival claims of Poseidon and Athena to the land of Attica has already been given.* Such tales carry the sailor's worship of Poseidon back to a mythical age. In the historic period he was still a god of the sailors, even as now Greek sailors worship St. Nicholas who has quite generally inherited the functions of Poseidon. As in the winter his presence was felt in the storm, so the fair winds of summer were tokens of his beneficence.† In particular fishermen looked to Poseidon as their patron. It was from the fishermen that Poseidon adopted the trident, originally a harpoon; in his hands it became a wand to shake the earth, to let loose the wild rage of the sea, or to check the onset of the giants.

Intimately as Poseidon is connected with the sea, he is yet the brother of Zeus. Like Zeus he seeks out fair mortal women and becomes the father of distinguished families of men. Like the other Olympian gods he attends the feasts in the halls of Zeus; only by chance is his place here vacant, in the opening scene of the *Odyssey*. Moreover Poseidon is a king of gods, as is Zeus, but in a different region. Theoretically Poseidon and his wife Amphitrite are king and queen of the sea gods, just as Zeus and Hera are rulers on Mt. Olympus.

Amphitrite, the daughter of Nereus and the wife of Poseidon, has no very distinct personality. "Dark-eyed Amphitrite" in the *Odyssey*,‡ as her name would indicate, is only another name for the sea itself. The king of the sea must have a queen, even as the king of heaven has; and this place was filled by Amphitrite. In art she is pictured with her husband as a sea goddess, attended by various creatures of the sea; it may be that crabs adorn her brow, and that she is riding on a dolphin. In worship

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* Chapter III, p. 113. † *Iliad*, IX, 362.
‡ V, 421; XII, 60, 97.

she finds a place beside Poseidon in his shrines near the sea. Always however she remains a faint copy of her lord, only existing that in name he may have a queen.

According to Hesiod **Triton** was the son of Poseidon and Amphitrite, a creature half man, half fish, with much the same combination of animal and human mental characteristics that was assumed for Centaurs and Sileni. His home originally was in Lake Copais, at which point the conflict of Heracles and Triton is localized; later he was connected with Lake Tritonis in Libya; only at the end of the fifth century did the individual become a genus of Tritons, a chorus of sea satyrs pursuing the sea nymphs and playing pranks on men that dwelt by the coast. The untamed nature of the sea, the music of its waves, and its rapid changes, all are reflected in the character of the Tritons.

Poseidon. Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 125 f.; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, iii, 32; xi, 54:

"So downe he fell, as an huge rocky clift,
Whose false foundacion waves have washt away,
With deadfull poyse is from the mayneland rift,
And rolling downe great Neptune doth dismay."

Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, III, i, 256:

"Flatter Neptune for his trident."

Ibid., *Tempest*, V, i, 35:

"And ye that on the sands with printless foot
Do chase the ebbing Neptune and do fly him
When he comes back."

Ibid., *Cymbeline*, III, i, 20; Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, V, 50:

"Blue Neptune storms, the bellowing deeps resound."

W. S. Landor, *Death of Chrysaor*.

Amphitrite. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 13:

". . . nec bracchia longo
margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite."

Keats, *Endymion*, II, 108.

Triton, Virgil, *Æneid,* I, 144; X, 209:

"Hunc vehit immanis Triton et cærula concha
exterrens freta."

Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* II, 8; Shakespeare, *Coriolanus,* III, i, 89:

"Hear you this Triton of the minnows."

6. Poseidon, the God of Fertility and Horsemanship.—Poseidon differed from Nereus and the other spirits connected with the sea which have been considered, in that he

a. *b.*

FIG. 39.—DIDRACHMON OF POSEIDONIA (about 500 B. C.).

(*a*) Poseidon is advancing toward the right with raised trident and light garment over his arms; the inscription ΠΟΣ is an abbreviation of the name of the city. (*b*) On the reverse the same figure is hollowed out.

is a god of waters in general, not specifically a god of the sea. Especially in the Peloponnese is this fact evident. Here he is a "leader of the nymphs" connected with springs (*nymphagetes*); and many stories are told of Poseidon's amours with nymphs, while the springs themselves in Argolis are explained as due to the favor of Poseidon. In Arcadia Poseidon appears as the lover of Demeter—not the Attic mother of Persephone, but a curious Demeter who represented the old spirit of the grain, worshiped in these mountain valleys. This Poseidon who loved the grain goddess of Arcadia, who was worshiped as the giver of wine in the Ægean Islands, and who was the patron of

flocks and herds in northern Greece, has become an agricultural god for the reason that the land depends on springs and rivers for its fertility.

Although Poseidon was a god of flocks, and himself the father of the celebrated ram with the golden fleece, the horse was the animal with which he stood in closest connection. This connection has been explained by drawing a parallel between the spirited nature and galloping motion of the horse on the one hand, and on the other hand the wild spirit of the sea and its rolling waves. Poseidon, however, was not in the first instance the god of the sea. With greater probability the reason may be sought in worship. Whether it was because the water god and the horse god were at one time much alike, or perhaps because the same adventurous race in northern Greece excelled in horsemanship and loved the sea so that their chief god presided over both these important spheres of their activity, or again because the horse symbolized for Thessaly the divinest product of its well-watered meadows, the fact remains that the horse is the gift of Poseidon. Both in Thessaly and in Arcadia is found the legend that the horse was created by Poseidon; it arose from the ground where he had watered it; or, again, he struck the rock with his trident, and it sprang into being. Areion, the war horse of Adrastus, was the offspring of Poseidon and his gift to the hero; similarly the horses of Idas, which came into the possession of Achilles, were the gift of the same god. He first taught men to train horses for their use, so that he was worshiped, as at Colonus, as the Subduer (δαμαῖος) of horses. Finally equestrian contests of knights were held in honor of Poseidon at Onchestus and at the Isthmian games.

To sum up: In myth Poseidon was prominent as the ruler of the sea; but in worship other spirits of the sea were more widely recognized, while Poseidon was honored wherever cavalry obtained any importance, as the god of horses,

and in the Peloponnese he was worshiped as the god who made the land fertile.*

Poseidon in Greek Art.—The statues of Poseidon represent him as a mature man, standing or advancing; the frame and muscles are no less developed than in the case of Zeus, but there is far less repose and dignity. If he has any garment, it is simply a chlamys thrown over his arms. Usually he carries a trident in his hand, and often a dolphin or the beak of a ship is associated with the god.

Poseidon was represented in groups with other gods by Scopas and by Praxiteles (Sq. 1175, 1202), and Lucian refers to a celebrated statue of the god in Corinth by Lysippus (Sq. 1457).

7. **Neptune.**—That Neptune was one of the old Roman gods is known from the way his worship is mentioned in the **Fasti.**† At his festival (on the twenty-third of July) small booths were built of branches for the worshipers to occupy. No evidence connects this Neptune with the sea, nor was there much reason for the early Romans to worship any sea god. The time and mode of his worship rather indicate that he was a god of moisture, to whom men prayed for relief from drought. At an early date the worship of the Greek Poseidon was introduced into Rome from Magna Græcia, and under the name of Neptune this god of the sea found a place in the worship of the city. Temples were built for him in the Forum and in the Campus Martius, prayers for a safe voyage were offered to him, contests of ships were held in his honor at the old July festival; still he never became one of the great gods of Rome. The Neptune of the Swiss lakes and the god of bridges in Germany were probably local deities whom the Romans called by the name of their water god.

8. **Helios; Eos; Selene.**—Besides the divinities connected with water the Greeks worshiped other nature gods,

* Cf. Poseidon *Erechtheus*, Chap. IX, vi, § 1.

† *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, I, p. 323.

particularly the gods of phenomena in the heavens. Helios and Selene, the stars,—especially the morning and evening stars,—the winds, and the clouds were the subjects of many myths. **Helios,** Eos, and Selene were said to be the children of Hyperion (a name applied also to the sun) and Theia. The sun "tireless in his journeys," ever driving his four-horse chariot across the sky, the sun who sees all things, the very "eye of Zeus" and so a god by whom men swear, the sun who smiles on shepherds as they keep their flocks, a god to whom Dorian shepherds dedicated sacred flocks—

a. *b.*

FIG. 40.—COIN OF RHODES (about 400 B. C.).
(*a*) Head of Helios; (*b*) a rose, the arms of Rhodes.

such was Helios. In the extreme east and the extreme west dwelt the people of light who put up the sun's horses in their stalls, a pious people for whom summer was perpetual and fruits were always ripe. Rhodes and Corinth were the most important centers of the worship of Helios. As Pindar * tells the story, Helios was absent when the earth was allotted among the gods and he received no portion. But in accordance with the promise of Zeus "there sprang up in the watery mains an island (Rhodes), and the father who begetteth the keen rays of day hath the dominion thereof, even the lord of fire-breathing steeds." The nymph Rhodos bore to Helios three sons for whom the three cities of Rhodes were named. On the coins of Rhodes

* *Olympian Odes*, VII, 54.

Helios was represented as a beautiful youth with wavy hair, his head crowned with rays of light.

Phaëthon (Shining One) is properly another name for the sun. In myth he is described as the son of Helios by the ocean nymph Clymene. The son sought his father in the mountains of the sunrise and persuaded him to let him (Phaëthon) drive the sun's horses for one day. The horses, becoming unmanageable, ran so near the earth as to make Libya forever a desert, to render the Ethiopians black, and to make the Nile conceal its sources. Only the thunderbolt of Zeus stopped their mad career. The nymphs of the river Eridanus buried the rash youth; his sisters the Heliadæ mourned him till they were turned into poplar trees, and their tears became drops of amber.

FIG. 41.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING (latter part of the fifth century B. C.).

The winged Eos is carrying off the nude figure of the youthful Cephalus.

Eos (Latin, *Aurora*), the dawn, represents the morning light—a woman rosy-fingered, for rosy fingers of light across the sky announce the coming of the sun. Fresh and bright as the morning, she has wings in token of her quick passing, or else she rides in a chariot like that of the sun.*

* *Odyssey*, XXIII, 244 f.

Men went forth to the hunt at dawn with Eos as their patron; thus most of the stories of Eos describe her attachment to beautiful young hunters. Cleitus was carried off by her to the immortals; * Orion and Cephalus were hunters whose destinies were determined by the love of Eos; Tithonus also she bore away and made her husband. Of Tithonus the story is told that Eos besought Zeus to grant him immortality, but forgot to ask for immortal youth. With all her care he grew old and withered away till he could no longer move his limbs; only a thin whispering voice remained to show that he was alive. Memnon, whom Achilles slew at Troy, was the child of this pair, with immortal youth for a mother and immortal old age for a father.

Selene, the moon, leader and mistress of the stars, was worshiped hardly more than Eos; but her coming and going determined the days when the other gods were worshiped. She also was thought to drive a chariot across the sky, or again she was pictured as riding on a mule. The beauty of the moonlit night, and the recurring phases of the moon, made a great impression on the Greek imagination. Zeus himself fell in love with Selene, and she bore him a daughter, Pandia (All-brightness). Most commonly, however, Endymion, the genius of sleep, was conceived as her lover. It is said that Zeus gave him the choice of death or of immortal slumber, which latter he chose. So he continued to sleep, his perfect beauty unmarred, in the cave of Selene; and each night she visited him to lavish on him the caresses to which he could never respond.

Helios. Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 568:

"Nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol jungit ab urbe."

W. S. Landor, *Gebir*, Book I:

"The chariot of the sun."

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* *Odyssey*, XV, 250.

Phaëthon. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 1–400; Chaucer, *House of Fame*, II, 432:

"That ones was ybrente wyth hete,
Whan the sonnes sonne, the rede,
That highte Phetoun, wolde lede
Algate his fader carte, and gye."

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, iv, 9:

"Exceeding shone, like Phœbus fayrest childe,
That did presume his fathers fyrie wayne,
And flaming mouthes of steedes, unwonted wilde,
Through highest heaven with weaker hand to rayne:"

Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III, i, 153; *King Henry VI*, pt. iii, II, vi, 12; Pope, *Weeping*, 13:

"The baby in that sunny sphere
So like a Phaëton appears."

G. Meredith, *Phaëton*; J. G. Saxe, *Phaëton.*

Eos. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 149:

"Altera lucem
cum croceis evecta rotis Aurora reducet."

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, ii, 7; I, xi, 51:

"And fayre Aurora from the deawy bed
Of aged Tithone gan herselfe to reare."

Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, ii, 380:

"Aurora's harbinger."

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, V, 1 f.:

"Now Morn, her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl."

W. S. Landor, *Gebir*, I:

"Now to Aurora borne by dappled steeds . . ."

Eos and Orion. M. Arnold, *Fragment of Antigone*:

"Nor was the love untrue
Which the Dawn-Goddess bore

To that fair youth she erst . . .
Saw and snatch'd, wild with love,
From the pine-dotted spurs
Of Parnes . . .
The Hunter of the Tanagræan field."

Eos and Tithonus. Virgil, *Æneid*, IV, 585:

"Et jam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile."

Shelley, *Witch of Atlas*, lxvii:

"Alas! Aurora, what wouldst thou have given
For such a charm when Tithon became grey?"

Tennyson, *Tithonus*; Longfellow, *Masque of Pandora*, vi:

"The snows are driven and drifted,
Like Tithonus' beard
Streaming disheveled and white."

Selene. Clough, *Selene*.

Endymion. Spenser, *Epithalamium*, 372 f.; Keats, *Endymion*; L. Morris, *Epic of Hades*; Longfellow, *Tithonus*; O. W. Holmes, *Metrical Essays*:

"And night's chaste empress, in her bridal play,
Laughed through the foliage where Endymion lay."

Helios in Greek Art.—Helios is represented as a young man driving a chariot, the chariot of the sun; and the rays of the sun's light radiate from his head. On the basis of the statue of Zeus at Olympia and on the east pediment of the Parthenon he appears in compositions by Pheidias. The most celebrated statue of Helios was the Colossus which Chares made for the island of Rhodes (Sq. 1539 f.).

9. **Myths of the Stars.**—The stars, like the moon, have some influence in determining the seasons of worship; while they are not themselves worshiped, they are the subject of stories which for the Greeks long supplied the place of astronomical knowledge. The constellation now called the "Great Bear" or "Charley's Wain" was known to

Homer under these names (ἡ ἄρκτος, ἡ ἅμαξα).* Later the "Wagon" was said to be the chariot of Icarus, transferred to the skies. The "Bear" was explained as a transformation of the bear goddess or nymph, Callisto. Arcas, the son of Callisto, was on the point of killing his mother by mistake while hunting, when Zeus made them both constellations and gave them a place in the heavens such that they never would sink beneath the horizon.

The **Pleiades** (πέλειαι, "doves") marked the approach of the harvest by their appearance.† Their disappearance in the fall was explained by the story that the hunter Orion had driven them from the sky. Hesiod called them "Atlas-born," for at first they were nymphs of fertility in Arcadia.‡ According to Æschylus § they wept for the sufferings of their father, Atlas, till at length they were transformed into stars—stars which foretold each year by their setting the season of rain and of fertility. Maia (Fertility), Alcyone (the Winter Storm), Celæno (Darkness), Electra and Sterope (Shining Ones), Taÿgete (nymph of the mountain in Lacedæmon), and Merope (Mortality, for six were immortal and always visible, one was seen only occasionally)—such were the names assigned them by the mythological poets.

The **Hyades** were similar nymphs of fertility, sometimes called daughters of Atlas, and like the Pleiades hunted across the sky by Orion. The name was sometimes derived from the word for swine (Ὑάδες, from ὗς), on the ground that these animals were the emblem of fertility; or from the form of the constellation (the letter Y); or again from the rains which they were said to bring (ὕει, it rains).

Perhaps the best known of the constellations, both by reason of the striking arrangement of the stars and by

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* *Odyssey*, V, 273.
† *Odyssey*, XII, 62.
‡ Hesiod, *Erga*, 383.
§ *Fragments*, 298.

reason of its importance for the Greek calendar, was **Orion,** that giant with the mighty club * or gleaming sword.† In November this constellation rose in the evening and could be seen all through the night. Then Orion is the mighty giant, the son of Poseidon, dashing from island to island and hurling enormous rocks in the winter storm. Or he is the mighty hunter among the mountains whose exploits continued in the land of shadows.‡ The middle of the summer was marked by his early rising; then it was that Eos fell in love with him and provoked the anger of Artemis.§ At Chios the following story was told of Orion, the god of the summer dawn:

The king Œnopion, son of Dionysus and Ariadne, represented the luxurious vine culture of the island. While visiting the island the giant Orion drank too freely of Œnopion's wine and in this condition attacked the wife of his host; whereupon Œnopion blinded his eyes and left him on the strand to sleep off his debauch. When he woke, Orion found his way to the forge of Hephæstus by listening for the sound of his hammer, took one of the companions of Hephæstus on his shoulder, and by his aid found his way to the sunrise where he kindled the light of his eyes from the sun's beams. Unable to find Œnopion whom he wished to punish. he joined Artemis in hunting on the island of Crete. At length he met his death from the sting of a scorpion sent to punish him for some boastful speech.

Of individual stars perhaps the morning and the evening stars, **Phosphorus** and **Hesperus,** were the most important. Phosphorus was the messenger of day, carrying a torch to herald the coming of Eos and Helios.‖ His mother was Eos, his father Astræus or Cephalus; he himself was the favorite of Aphrodite and even her rival in beauty.

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* *Odyssey*, XI, 575. † Euripides, *Ion*, 1153.
‡ *Odyssey*, XI, 572 f. § *Odyssey*, V, 121.
‖ *Odyssey*, XIII, 93.

Hesperus * as beautiful as the morning star, was the special charm of the Greek sunset.† It was in marriage hymns that he was most often celebrated, so that he also was called the star of love and the star of the goddess of love. Because it was the star of love, we call the brightest of the evening (and the morning) stars by the name of Venus.

Less familiar stories gathered about other constellations, till at length in the Alexandrian age the whole heaven was mapped out in a mythological chart.

Pleiades. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII, 374:

"... the gray
Dawn and the Pleiades before him danced,
Shedding sweet influence."

Pope, *Spring*, 102; Tennyson, *Locksley Hall*:
"Many a night I saw the Pleiads," etc.

Orion. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 293 f; Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 535; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, iii, 31:
"Orion's hound."

Milton, *Ad Patrem* (trans. Cowper), 39.
Longfellow, *Occultation of Orion*.

Hesperus. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 605; Ibid., IX, 49; *Comus*, 982; Akenside, *Ode to Hesper*; Sappho, *Fragments*, 95, imitated by Byron, *Don Juan*, III, 107:
"O Hesperus that bringest all good things," etc.

Tennyson, *Leonine Elegiacs*.

10. **Sirius and the "Dog Days"; Actæon; Aristæus; Linus.**—**Sirius,** the brightest of the fixed stars, is known even in the Homeric poems as the dog of Orion. Its rising marked the hottest season of the year, the "dog days," when the freshness of vegetation was destroyed and poor mortals suffered from the sky's fiery heat.‡ The tradition was widespread that madness of dogs was produced by

* *Iliad*, XXII, 318. † Cf Sappho, *Fragments*, 95, 133.
‡ Homer, *Iliad*, XXII, 29 f.; Hesiod, *Erga*, 582; *Scutum*, 393.

this season of the year, and often this effect was attributed to the star itself. The story of **Actæon** illustrated this influence, which was attributed to Sirius. Actæon was the son of Aristæus and Autonoë,* brought up by Cheiron on Mt. Pelion to be a great hunter. It seems that he personified the fresh vigor of spring, as his death exemplified the baneful effect of summer. Incurring the anger of Zeus, he was torn to pieces by his own dogs; or, as the later story put it, he accidentally surprised Artemis at the bath, whereupon she changed him into a stag, and his maddened dogs tore him to pieces on Mt. Cithæron.

Aristæus, the father of Actæon, was another summer god who taught men to pray for relief from the heat, as he had himself prayed to Zeus with the result that cooling breezes blow over the Ægean at this season. Aristæus had many points in common with his father Apollo. Although himself a hunter, he watched over shepherds and their flocks, and in particular he was the patron of bee culture.

Finally, the **Linus** song belongs with the rites and stories of the "dog days." Apparently this song derived its name from the lament *ai lenu*, "Woe to us" (Greek, αἴλινον), which the Semites used as a refrain in their worship of the sun god of summer. Then from the refrain of this song, known in Greece from the period of the epic,† arose the story of a beautiful youth, Linus—a youth resembling Adonis in that he exemplified the beauty of spring, which was cut off by the summer. In Argos, Linus was said to be a son of Apollo, whom his mortal mother exposed that he might perish. He grew up with the lambs of the flock, only to be torn into pieces by the dogs. Apollo brought it about that he was buried, and each year he was worshiped by the Argive women in song and lament. The evil effect of the "dog days" on tender youth (and on the young of the

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* See Chap. X, page 285.

† *Iliad*, XVIII, 570.

flocks) seems to have determined the form of the story. Linus appears also with Orpheus and Musæus as one of those early singers from whom men learned the power of song.

Actæon. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 131 f.; Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, II, iii, 63; A. H. Clough, *Actæon*; L. Morris, *Actæon* (*Epic of Hades*); John Erskine, in *The Century Magazine*, LXIII, pp. 379–383.

Aristæus. Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 363 f.; Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, 317.

11. **The Winds.**—The violent wind storms in Greek myth were classified with the rude forces making against order in nature. **Typhœus,** or Typhon,* was at the same time the wild force of the volcano and the wild force of the hurricane or "typhoon." Thus also the **Harpies** (Snatchers) were storm winds, named for their deleterious results. The children of Thaumas and Electra (Wonder and Brightness), they snatched away the sailor and left no trace of him.† In the course of time they became hideous vampires whose proper home is in Hades, and who carried off men's souls.‡ Both the Latin and the Greek words for soul (*anima* and πνεῦμα) connect the ideas of *soul* and *wind*. At Athens the *Tritopatreis* are wind gods conceived as creators of life; that is, the soul comes and goes with the breath of the winds.

The winds as they blow normally are far more human than either Typhon or the Harpies. Their home was fittingly where the winds came from; that is, the home of **Boreas,** the north wind (Aquilo), was in Thrace. This boisterous wind was pictured as a man of mature age, with long wild hair, and with strong wings on his shoulders. In the *Odyssey* § we read of Æolus as the master of the winds, and the Romans regarded him as the father and king of the winds. The Greeks made Boreas the king of the winds—Boreas who lashed the sea into fury, who overturned the trees of the mountain-side and chilled men

* Cf. Chap. II, p. 72. † *Odyssey*, I, 241; XX, 66.
‡ Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 212; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 1 f. § X, 21.

with the cold of winter. It was Boreas who destroyed the fleet of Xerxes, and thereafter was specially honored in Attica. This same wild wind snatched away the Attic maiden Oreithyia to be his wife. Oreithyia (Rushing over the Mountains) came to be thought of as a wind, like her husband, only that she was a gentle wind of spring. Of the other winds Zephyrus (Latin, *Favonius*) was the most important. It was this moist west wind which made the vegetation grow.* In the language of mythology he was the husband of Chloris (Green Vegetation) and the father of Carpo (Fruit). Notus, the south wind, and Eurus, the east wind, played a less important part in human life; nor do any special myths attach to them.

FIG. 42.—"TOWER OF THE WINDS" AT ATHENS. The Horologium built by Andronicus of Cyrrhus; the winds are pictured at the top of each side.

Harpies. Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 213 ff.

Boreas. Virgil, *Æneid*, X, 350; Ibid., XII, 365; Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, I, iii, 37.

Zephyrus. Ovid, *Heroides*, XIV, 39; Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, *Prologue*, 5:

> "Whan Zephirus eek with his swete breeth
> Enspired hath in every holt and heeth
> The tendre croppes . . ."

* *Odyssey*, VII, 119; cf. IV, 567.

CHAPTER VI

GODS OF VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL LIFE: DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE, DIONYSUS, HERMES, PAN.

1. **Demeter (Ceres) the Goddess of Agriculture.**—Like Gaia and Rhea-Cybele, Demeter (explained by the Greeks as Γῆ μήτηρ, "Mother Earth") is another form of the earth goddess. The earth in each instance was regarded as a mother, in this instance as the mother of vegetation and in particular as the giver of the grain to men. In the rich valleys of the Peloponnese, in Thessaly and in Sicily, she was worshiped; but Attica claimed to be the center from which Demeter had taught men to cultivate the grain. The fields were prepared by means of Demeter's gift, the plow. It was here, in the plowed field, as Homer says,* that her lover Iasion visited the goddess. Demeter Chloe watched over the young green which spread over the fields as spring began. Her care brought the gentle rains and kept off the blight. The poppies which dotted the fields with color were her gifts. But the harvest time was the time of her glory. In the standing grain and the gathered sheaves she was present; over the cutting, the threshing, and the grinding of the corn she presided; the first new loaves of bread were consecrated to her. So closely was she identified with the grain that in all the farmer's worship she took the first place.

The gift of the grain was connected in many places with

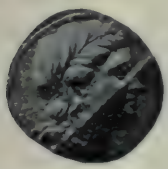
* *Odyssey*, V, 125.

the story of a visit of Demeter to the king of the country. The only one of these stories to find general recognition was the account of her visit to Eleusis. According to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* it was the king of Eleusis whose daughters found and welcomed Demeter as she rested there in her search for her lost daughter. It was as a mourning old woman that the goddess appeared to them; and in return for their hospitality she gave the king two gifts, the grain and the knowledge of the mysteries. The king of Eleusis and the first priest of Demeter, Triptolemus, at length came himself to be worshiped along with the goddess, by reason of his service to mankind. Receiving from Demeter and Persephone the grain—a scene often depicted in Attic painting—he became their messenger to carry the gift all over the world. In his winged chariot drawn by serpents he set forth; and wherever he went he taught men not only how to plow the ground and cultivate the grain, but also to reverence the goddess from whom he had received it. At Eleusis a broad plain was consecrated to the goddess;

FIG. 43.—LARGE MARBLE RELIEF FOUND AT ELEUSIS (fifth century B. C.).

Demeter at the left is giving the boy Triptolemus a sheaf of grain; at the right Persephone, who carries a torch, is placing a wreath on the boy's head.

and here as at Athens the plowing season began with
sacred plowing in the precinct of Demeter and Triptol
The very name Triptolemus suggested these thr
monial plowings (τρίπολος). At first in Attica
gether with the increasing political significan
in many parts of the Greek world, this leg
basis of religious practice, and Triptol
along with Demeter. Thus Athens



a.

b.

Fig. 4.—Coins of Syracuse (about 300 B.C.).
a. Head of Persephone crowned with corn. b. Head of Persephone surrounded by dolphins.

source
as we

hence men received nature's best gifts, the grain
as the vine and the olive.

The name "Thesmophoros" as applied to Demeter, and
ne festival of the Thesmophoria which was held in her
honor, indicated the connection of the goddess with the
social order. In the first place the "institutes of Demeter"
may have included some precepts which applied to agri-
culture, together with other principles governing the simple
life of the agricultural community. All rules necessary
for the community were referred to the goddess, for the
danger of offending the power which made the corn sprou
was felt to be the ultimate reason of such rules. Whethe
the institutes were referred to Triptolemus or to Demete
herself, the reason for observing them was the same. No
the social order in Greece was never entirely divorced fro
agriculture; in general, civilization was conditioned by t

development of agriculture; naturally, then, the principles of social life continued to be referred to this goddess. As she had blessed the political assemblies which gathered in the fields after the harvest was cut, so her guidance was sought in assemblies in the city, and the Amphictyonic assembly met at Thermopylæ under her protection. The phase of social life in which the influence of Demeter Thesmophoros was specially felt was the family. In some places the priestess of Demeter was present at the wedding feast to bless the newly married pair. The thought running all through the rites of the Thesmophoria, a festival shared only by married women, was that the birth of children was due to the same goddess as was the growth of vegetation. In the visit to the shrine of Aphrodite and the return to the Thesmophorion, in the fasting and in the feast provided by the matrons of Athens, in the mystic ritual to make the seed grow, and in the special honor paid to the mother of the fair daughter (Persephone), these Attic women

FIG. 45.—COLOSSAL STATUE NOW IN THE VATICAN (style of the fifth century temple statues).

Demeter is represented as a splendidly developed mature woman; a scepter has been restored in her left hand, and ears of corn in her right hand.

sought for their families the blessing of the goddess of growth.

In Italy an old goddess of plant life was worshiped under the name of **Ceres.** Ceres was the grain which was sown in Tellus, the earth, and the worship of the two was closely intertwined. When the seed was germinating, animals with unborn young were sacrificed to Tellus, who was to give birth to the grain. Ceres at the same time received offerings of grain, games were held in her honor, and foxes with firebrands attached to their tails were driven about in front of her temple. Then at the harvest time each farmer dedicated the first sheaf of his field to Ceres with a sacrifice of pigs. The worship of Demeter under the name Ceres was introduced into Rome in accordance with a Sibylline oracle, in the year 496 B. C. A temple was built to Ceres, Liber (Dionysus), and Libera (Persephone), west of the Circus Maximus. Here games were held in the spring, and in the summer the married women performed secret rites to the Mother of Persephone. The circumstances under which this worship was introduced into Rome brought it about that Ceres was regarded as the patron of the *plebs*. Decrees of the senate were published in her temple for the benefit of the plebeian, here were the archives of the plebeian officers, here was the treasury for fines collected for injuries to plebeians. In the country Ceres continued to be the spirit of the growing corn; in the city Ceres (Demeter) was the mother goddess protecting her people.

Demeter. Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 393–620,

(ludi Ceriales);

Ibid., *Metamorphoses*, X, 431 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 177, 701; IV, 59; Shakespeare, *Tempest*, IV, i, 60 f.; Gray, *Progress of Poesy*, 1:

"Ceres' golden reign."

Pope, *To Summer*, 66:

"When weary reapers quit the sultry field,
And, crown'd with corn, their thanks to Ceres yield."

Moral Essays, IV, 176; Warton, *First of April*:

"Fancy . . . sees Ceres grasp her crown of corn,
And plenty load her ample barn."

Mrs. H. H. Jackson, *Demeter*; Tennyson, *Demeter and Persephone.*

2. **The Rape of Persephone.**—The conception of Demeter was not so closely connected with the physical facts of the earth and vegetable growth as to prevent the fuller development of the conception of her as a mother goddess. The more she became a definite person, the greater the need of a child on whom her love and care might be lavished. It may have been the recognition of this need which helped to make Persephone* the daughter of Demeter, and gave her the name of *Kore*. In any case the story of the Rape of Persephone is significant as indicating a great change in the thought of that world where Persephone was queen. Homer refers to the "yellow-haired Demeter," and in other connections he speaks of "mighty Hades and dread Persephone"; but he recognizes no relation between the grain goddess and the much-feared bride of Hades. Still Demeter stands for that Mother Earth which not only receives the grain, but also receives into her bosom those who have completed their life on the earth. The identification of Hades's queen with Demeter's daughter involved a less pessimistic view of death and the future life, in that the gentle spirit of Demeter was present in the daughter whom she loved. The might of Hades is

* The first part of the name is not yet satisfactorily explained; probably the second part is from the root which appears in φαίνω, "to show, cause to appear." *Kore* is the word meaning "daughter."

still absolute, but men no longer think of a "dread Persephone." There is a change even in the thought of Hades. No less relentless than before, he is often conceived as the giver of those riches which men gain from the earth; he is *Plouton* (giver of wealth) as well as the ruler of the shades. This side of his nature, however, finds no place in the myth of the Rape of Persephone.

The function of this myth is to explain how Demeter's daughter became the queen of Hades. In a word, the god who seizes men in sudden death, seized this goddess and bore

FIG. 46.—VASE PAINTING ON A FRAGMENT OF A LATE AMPHORA.
Hades is carrying off Persephone, who takes farewell of one of her companions; Eros flies above.

her away violently to the realm of shades. The place where she was snatched away was claimed by Hermione, Cyzicus, Syracuse, and many other points; quite generally, however, the claims of Eleusis were recognized. Still, wherever some rocky gorge in the vicinity of a meadow rich in flowers suggested the two actors in the scene, local legend might

depict its occurrence. The fair maiden, gentle as her mother, was plucking flowers in such a meadow, we are told, in company with the nymphs, daughters of Oceanus. Rose, violet, iris, and hyacinth attracted her by their beauty and fragrance. At length she perceived a narcissus * finer than all the rest; but as she stooped to pluck it the earth opened, and Hades caught her up in his chariot. The picture of the wild king, the Lord of Death, bearing off the girl helpless and limp with fright, was a favorite scene with ancient painters—a scene no less pathetic because at one time such seizure may have been the normal method of securing a bride. The mother heard her last despairing cry as they disappeared, but she had no clew to what had become of her. Rending her veil and wrapping about her the dark garment of mourning, she sought Persephone for nine days all over the earth, without stopping for food or drink, the

FIG. 47.—HEAD OF A SEATED STATUE FOUND ON THE ISLAND OF CNIDOS, AND NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (third century B. C.).

The veiled head of Demeter shows traces of her mourning, which now is ended.

* The fatal flower had a name which suggested to the Greek the torpor of death (νάρκη, "numbness"), a name perhaps due to its heavy fragrance. Sophocles calls it the "ancient crown of the two goddesses," no doubt because of its use in the Eleusinian worship.

"mater dolorosa" of Greek religion. And when she learned from the all-seeing sun what had happened to her daughter, she withdrew in anger from Olympus and refused to let the grain sprout at all on the earth. Meantime, in the guise of an old woman she visited Eleusis, where the king of the land gave her entertainment. Famine on the earth induced the gods to seek to appease her. Only on condition that her daughter be restored to her did she consent to lay aside her wrath. The poet draws a touching picture of the restoration of Persephone to her mother. She was allowed to spend nine months of the year with her mother, but because she had eaten a pomegranate seed in the lower world she was obliged to spend three months with the dead. The blood-red juice of the pomegranate may have suggested this feature of the story; or perhaps it was because the pomegranate, so full of seeds, was a common symbol of marriage. Every fall Persephone returned to her husband when the corn was sown; and in the spring, as the grain sprouted, men celebrated her return to her mother.

The story, as it is told in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, goes on to describe the sending out of Triptolemus with the gift of the grain. Properly, however, the two myths are independent, connected only by their place in the one worship at Eleusis.

In Italy the myth of the Rape of Persephone (Latin, Proserpina) formed the background for the festival of Ceres in August. Women refrained both from the "Bread of Demeter" and from wine while the festival was in progress. Both the mother's sadness at the loss of her daughter and joy in her restoration were shared by the worshipers. At this temple of Ceres, Persephone was known as Libera, and Dionysus as Liber; the two gods who, it was believed, "set free" the forces of vegetable life. In another interesting rite the priests buried the sins of the century

(*seculum condere*) with sacrifices to Pluto and Proserpina Both in Italy and in Greece the queen of the dead was known as Persephone (Proserpina); the same goddess in her connection with vegetation was more commonly known in Greece as Kore, in Italy as Libera.

Demeter and **Persephone.** Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 417 f.; Ibid., *Metamorphoses*, V, 341–642 ; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, i, 37; I, ii, 2 ; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 269:

> ". . . . Not that fair field
> Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
> Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
> Was gather'd—which cost Ceres all that pain
> To seek her through the world. . . ."

Keats, *Ode on Melancholy*; Shelley, *Song of Proserpine*; Schiller, *Das Eleusische Fest*; B. W. Procter, *The Rape of Proserpine*; Aubrey de Vere, *The Search for Proserpine*; R. H. Stoddard, *The Search for Proserpine*; A. C. Swinburne, *Hymn to Proserpine*; *At Eleusis*; L. Morris, *Persephone* (*Epic of Hades*); Tennyson, *Demeter and Persephone*; M. Arnold, *Thyrsis*:

> "She knew each lily white which Enna yields . . ."

Jean Ingelow, *Persephone.*

3. **The Mysteries at Eleusis.**—As Greek religion consisted mainly of worship and found small place for dogma, so its mysteries were not secret doctrines but rites practiced only by the initiated. And yet such rites as the Eleusinian mysteries demanded a sacred story to give them meaning. The Demeter of Eleusis seems to have been the old goddess of the grain,who first taught men to plow and to sow and to reap. Her mysteries were once, no doubt, the simple rites of a farming people, by which they sought to make the corn sprout or to protect it from rust and from drought. This people felt that sympathy with nature which made

them rejoice with the growth of vegetation and feel sad at its death. At Eleusis their sorrow was treated as the sorrow of the great mother of vegetation for her lost child, their joy as her joy in her recovered daughter. With the story of the Rape of Persephone the sympathetic grief and joy of the people with nature was transformed into something

FIG. 48.—RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF PLUTO IN THE PRECINCT OF DEMETER AT ELEUSIS.

In the background is the cave where the drama of the Rape of Persephone may have been enacted.

intensely human. The mother's love for an only daughter became the keynote of these mysteries; in the birth and death of vegetable life men were feeling after some solution of the secrets of human life and death.

The course of the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis may be considered as having three parts: (1) The first part was celebrated at the temple of Demeter at Athens. A solemn

proclamation invited men to share the sacred rites, while it warned away the unholy and impure; on another day those who were to share the festival purified themselves on the shore of the sea; and on a third day those who had not been initiated before purified themselves by the sacrifice of pigs. This first part terminated by the great procession in which the image of Iacchus (a form of Dionysus) was carried to Eleusis, escorted by thousands of worshipers. (2) The first nights at Eleusis were occupied by rites in which the worshipers sought to share the experiences of Demeter by imitating her acts. They had been fasting for nine days, as she had fasted while searching for her daughter; her wanderings they imitated by restless dances with torches about the well Callichore; they rested, as she was said to have rested on the Rock of Gloom (*πέτρα ἀγέλαστος*); Iambe, the personification of jesting verse, had been the first to make Demeter smile—and thus the worshipers jested in their sorrow; they drank as a sacrament the *kykeon* with which Demeter had broken her fast, and handled the holy symbols which denoted her presence. (3) At length those who were prepared for the sacred vision, *epopteia*, gathered in the one great religious assembly hall of Greece. The so-called drama there presented to them consisted of scenes from Eleusinian story. In a silence broken only by the mother's cries, the loss of Persephone and her return were suggested to the gathered multitude. Persephone and Hades in the lower world, the same Persephone restored to this world; the torments of the uninitiated after death, and the blessedness of the initiated whom Persephone welcomed to the realm below; perhaps the sending out of Triptolemus with the gift of the grain—such were some of the scenes presented. On the highly wrought feelings of the spectators very simple means were sufficient to produce a deep impression. Of the means used little is known; ancient writers are consistent in

asserting that the effect produced in the worshipers was the vivid confidence in a glad life awaiting them after death. To Demeter they owed the bread which supported life here; Demeter's daughter who spent part of the time in this world, part in the realm of souls, became the pledge of a real life awaiting men after death.

Demeter in Greek Art.—Demeter was represented by the Greek artists as a woman with full matronal form, either standing or seated. Commonly her mantle is drawn up over her head as a veil, unless she wears a high crown (*polos*). In one type of statue she seems to stand for the grain mother, ready to bless mankind; in a second type she is the mother of Persephone, the mother who has lost her daughter and recovered her only after much sad effort (see Fig. 47). In her hand she may carry a scepter, or a torch, or a sacrificial bowl; a small sheaf of grain is her more distinctive attribute. Persephone is often represented with her mother as a young woman; the torch or the scepter in her hand has reference to her position in the lower world.

Probably two seated figures in the east pediment of the Parthenon give us Pheidias's conception of the mother and daughter. Praxiteles is said to have represented in bronze the Rape of Persephone, and Pausanias mentions statues of Demeter and Despoina by Damophon of Messene (Sq. 1199, 1564).

4. **The Birth of Dionysus** * **(Bacchus).**—At first sight one of the simplest divinities of the ancient world, the wine god proves to be one of the most interesting and the most complex. The story of his birth is a part of Theban legend, for his mother Semele was one of the daughters of Cadmus. Probably Semele is another name for the earth, the earth which was fertilized by the rain of Zeus and became the

* The first part of the name *Dio-nysus* is from the root which appears in *Zeus*, gen. *Dios*. Kretschmer (*Aus der Anomia*, S. 17 f.) explains *-nysus* as from *νῦσαι* = *νύμφαι*, a root which occurs also in the place name *Nysa*. The same writer explains *Semele* as the Phrygian name for the earth goddess.

mother of vegetation. It is said that the jealous Hera suggested to Semele that she demand a sight of her lover in all his glory. In the presence of the lightning of Zeus her mortal body was consumed by fire, but the earth sent up shoots of cooling ivy which protected the half-divine fruit of her womb, and Zeus bestowed the babe in his thigh till it was ready for birth. Thus Dionysus was called "twice born," or "fire-born." When the babe was finally born, Zeus gave him to Hermes who intrusted him to the care of the nymphs of Nysa. Nysa (cf. Dio-nysus) seems to have been the realm of moist vegetation, the fancied home of the youthful god. But wherever there were cool moist glens on a mountainside, in Bœotia or on the islands or in Asia Minor, there the worshipers of Dionysus found a Nysa and repeated the legend of his early youth. The nymphs who had cared for the infant formed his cortége later; Mænads and other wood nymphs, Satyrs, Sileni, and Pans, constituted the wild chorus of the god of vegetable life.

FIG. 49.—MARBLE STATUE FOUND IN THE VILLA OF HADRIAN AT TIBUR, NOW IN THE THERMÆ MUSEUM AT ROME (copy of a Greek Bronze of the fourth century B. C.).

Dionysus is represented with soft, almost feminine forms; he wears only the fawn-skin (*nebris*).

The wine was at length discovered by him, a new solace for human care, a mystic source of feminine weakness and of strange strength in mind and body. Almost all the myths of Dionysus group themselves about the story of his journey from land to land, bearing with him this gift to

mankind. To Attica it brought gladness and trouble; in Thebes the new god found recognition only after his might had been exhibited in the death of Pentheus; visiting Crete he found Ariadne, the goddess of love and gladness; in Naxos the sailors who bound him were turned into dolphins; and some centuries later the conquests of Alex-

FIG. 50.—NEO-ATTIC RELIEF IN THE NAPLES MUSEUM.

Dionysus followed by a train of revelers comes to visit a reclining man; probably the visit of Dionysus to Icarus is given as the prototype of the visit of the god of inspiration to a poet.

ander were transfigured in the story of the triumphal visit of Dionysus to India. This fact alone suggests that Dionysus was conceived as essentially different from the older Olympian divinities. They belonged to Greece; Dionysus was a foreign god winning his way by gifts to those who received him, and dire punishments to those who stood in his way. For instance, as alluded to above, in the land of Dionysus's birth the king, Pentheus, sought to stop the wild worship of the god; when Dionysus and his Mænads attracted the Theban women away from their homes to join in strange rites among the mountains, Pentheus forbade them to go. At length he followed as a spy on their movements, until his own mother—misled by

the god himself—helped to tear him into pieces as though he were a wild beast. Bacchus triumphed, but Agave the mother of Pentheus, no less than Pentheus, had cause to rue his coming. So lacking in care for men is the life of nature deified in Dionysus.

Semele. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 256–315; Milton, *Paradise Regained*, II, 187; cf. *Paradise Lost*, IV, 275; Schiller, *Semele* (translated by Bowring); E. R. Sill, *Semele*:

> "One night he sware to grant whate'er I asked:
> And straight I cried, 'To know thee as thou art!
> To hold me on thy heart as Juno does!
> Come in thy thunder—kill me with one fierce
> Divine embrace!—Thine oath!—Now, Earth, at last!'"

Thebes and **Pentheus.** Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 1–415; Virgil, *Æneid*, IV, 469; W. S. Landor, *The Last Fruit of an Old Tree*; Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII, 33.

Tour of Dionysus. Dryden, *Alexander's Feast*, iii.

5. **Dionysus, the Wine God of Attica.**—Although Dionysus found no place in the Olympus of Homer, we must believe that he was worshiped by the peasants wherever the vine was cultivated. The account of his "tour," distributing his gift to men, is like that of the tour of Triptolemus with the grain, except that it found some concrete meaning in the great extension of Dionysus worship during the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. At this time in Attica, for example, his worship was brought from Icaria and Eleutheræ to the city of Athens and was given a recognized place in the state religion. The story of the visit of Dionysus to king Icarus may be regarded as the mythical prototype of the development of his worship during this period. In return for his hospitality Dionysus gave Icarus the wine, and Icarus went about sharing his gift with the people of the country. They partook of it too

freely and, thinking they had been poisoned, slew their king. Conducted by the faithful dog Mæra, his daughter Erigone found his grave, only to hang herself there in her grief. Dionysus, resenting the treatment of his friend, sent a scourge of madness on the land, with the result that other maidens hanged themselves as had Erigone. This finally

Fig. 51.—The Theater at Athens, in its Present Condition.
Rows of stone seats rise above the orchestra where the chorus performed its dances.

was ended by establishing a festival at which dolls were hung on the trees and a wine-skin dance ἀσκωλιασμός was introduced in honor of the wine god.

It was in the sportive dances of such festivals of Dionysus that the Attic drama had its origin. At the "Country Dionysia" in the month of December, and the Lenæa in January, the people imitated in rustic dances the experiences of Dionysus. Some were especially "inspired" of the god; and the Greek genius reduced to order these exuberant rites, until at length the artistic dithyramb,

tragedy, and comedy were evolved as the tribute of Greece to the giver of the wine. At the "City Dionysia" in March the coming of Dionysus from Eleutheræ was reënacted; a Pindar wrote dithyrambs for the choruses in his honor; and at the theater of Dionysus crowds gathered from all over Greece to enjoy and applaud the Attic drama. Meantime

FIG. 52.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING (fifth century B. C.).
An ox is being prepared for sacrifice; in the background is the tripod of Dionysus, which was given as a prize for musical and dramatic contests.

in February at the "Anthesteria" master and slave alike had joined in celebrating the time when the new wine was opened; at the public table men had held a contest to see which could empty his pitcher first; the wife of the king archon had been formally married to Dionysus as the symbol that the land was united to him; and the gates of Hades's realm had opened (men thought) to allow the souls to revisit this world, just as they permitted Persephone to return to her mother. So many-sided was Dionysus.

Dionysus, the Wine God. E. g., Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, vii, 121; Milton, *Comus*, 46; Panard, *Champagne; The Two Loves*; B. W. Proctor, *Bacchanalian Song*; Schiller, *Das Siegesfest*.

6. **Dionysus, a God of Vegetable Life.**—In north Greece and among the islands, as well as in Attica, Dionysus was

Fig. 53.—Red-figured Vase Painting (about 400 B. C., perhaps of Syracusan workmanship).

Dionysus, with thyrsus and two-handled winecup (*cantharus*), is represented with Hephæstus and Comœdia in a scene of revel.

preëminently the wine god. At the same time there was another side to his nature, perhaps more fundamental. That the Greek women, ordinarily all but confined to the house, should join in a night festival with wild orgies in honor of Dionysus, as was the case for example on Mt. Parnassus, is not to be explained by anything connected with the god of the wine. The Argive story of women crazed by the god so that they ate their own children, the practice of cutting flesh from a living ox and eating it raw, the frenzied dances of women swinging torches and twining

serpents in their hair—such rites and stories point to another side of the nature of Dionysus.

The fact that these wild festivals were celebrated at the time of the winter solstice suggests that Dionysus, like Attis or the Cretan Zeus, was a god who personified the life of vegetation. The sufferings and the triumphs of the god point to the death and the rebirth of vegetable life. One of the oldest stories of his sufferings is told by Homer.* While the babe Dionysus was sporting with the nymphs, Lycurgus, son of Dryas, the king of Thrace, attacked them. The nymphs fled in terror before his lash, and Dionysus saved himself only by leaping into the sea, where Thetis received him under her protection. Blinded by Zeus and hated by all the gods, Lycurgus died. That is, the wild winter coming from the north destroyed vegetation, but soon the winter itself must perish. Under the name "Zagreus," Dionysus is said to have been torn into pieces, only to come to life again—a tragic image of the changing seasons. The triumphs of Dionysus furnish the other side of the same picture. Among the islands men told how Tyrrhenian pirates once carried off a beautiful youth with curly hair, wearing a purple cloak.† They bound him to the mast of their vessel and laughed at his laments. Soon the ship stopped, as though fastened to a rock; the bands fell off the beautiful prisoner, ivy and grapevines twined around the mast, and Dionysus was changed into a lion. Leaping into the sea in terror the pirates were transformed into dolphins. In Crete and Naxos the name of Dionysus was linked with that of Ariadne. The marriage of the two was celebrated with pomp and many festivities; at the same time there was a story of Ariadne's death because she had been untrue to Dionysus and had fled with the Attic Theseus—for both the gladness and the sorrow of life be-

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* *Iliad*, VI, 130. † *Homeric Hymn*, VI.

long to the god of vegetation. In still another story Ariadne was beloved by Theseus first, but was abandoned by him on the island of Naxos. As she slept, worn out by despair and grief, Dionysus wakened her with a kiss; and the gods came to celebrate their marriage. Not only in the ransparent myth of the wakening of vegetation from sleep, but underlying all the stories of the sorrows and triumphs of Dionysus is the thought that he represents the life in plants and trees. The wine is his gift to men, in that the wine seems to be the material embodiment of this life; goats and fawns were sacrificed to him, and his worshiper tasted their blood as another symbol of the life present in nature.

Dionysus was often regarded as a foreign god. No doubt there were corresponding deities in Phrygia and in Thrace which occasioned the development of his worship in Greece, but that revival in his worship which made him one of the greater gods of Greece was in large measure due to conditions present in Greece itself. Dissatisfaction with ancient formalism in religion, and in particular the rising sense of individualism with its demand for a god that came into closer contact with each man, were potent factors in the elevation of the wine god to the Olympus in which Homer gave him no place.

In Italy Dionysus was identified with **Liber,** Persephone with Libera; and both were worshiped with Ceres in the temple by the Circus Maximus. Here Dionysus was the god of wine, and Persephone the goddess of fruit generally. At the festival of the Liberalia, however, a different conception was in the foreground. There both Liber and Libera were gods presiding over the family and granting the blessing of children. It was not difficult to identify this Liber with Dionysus; for the Greek god was the personification of life in the physical world, and the wine belonged to him in that it personified the essence of that life.

Ariadne. Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 459; *Catullus*, lxiv, 251; Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 80; Keats, *Endymion*, II, 442:

"Never . . . Since Ariadne was a vintager."

Dionysus in Greek Art.—Two quite distinct types of Dionysus are found in Greek art, in addition to the simple pillar (herm), richly draped and crowned with a bearded mask or head, which represented the god for his early worshipers. In the fifth century and sometimes later he was conceived as a mature man with flowing beard, fully draped and crowned with ivy. In later centuries he was often represented as a youth with almost effeminate forms, either entirely nude or with the skin of a fawn or a leopard draped about his body. In his hand he carried a two-handled cup (*kantharos*) or a bunch of grapes, and he was accompanied by a panther, if not by a train of Bacchantes and Satyrs.

The more celebrated statues of Dionysus are the following:

Tanagra; temple statue of marble by Calamis, Sq. 514.

Orchomenus; bronze statue by Myron, Sq. 538.

Athens; gold and ivory temple statue by Alcamenes, Sq. 819.

Cnidos; marble statues by Scopas and Bryaxes, Sq. 1176.

Statues at Elis and elsewhere by Praxiteles, Sq. 1203, 1221, 1223.

Helicon; statue by Lysippus, Sq. 1458, 1459.

7. **Nymphs, Mænads, Satyrs, Sileni.**—Nowhere did the Greek imagination find freer and purer scope than in its treatment of the nymphs. Brooks and woods and hills were peopled with these fair maidens, simply because the ancient Greek never felt himself alone when he was in contact with any form of life in nature. For him each brook and bubbling spring had a half-divine life, and this was a Naiad nymph; each tree was more than wood, bark, and leaves, and this "more" was the Hamadryad nymph whose life was linked with that of the tree; the wooded glens on the mountainside were the home of the Oread nymphs; rich moist meadows, the home of meadow nymphs. Wherever nature was alive, there the Greek personified that

life in these spirits who had the form of fair young women. Though they were not immortal, their life was very long. It was spent now in hunting, now in herding flocks, but more commonly in music and dancing and sport. The farmer and the shepherd sought their blessing in his daily tasks, for they were divinities near to men and interested in the flock and the crops. Their altars were in solitary groves, in glens, in caves, and by springs; wayfarers as well as shepherds stopped to share their simple worship, as one stops to pray before the shrines of the saints in southern Europe to-day. Touched by their hands, one might become insane; or, like the Sibyl, he might gain superhuman knowledge of the future. Many stories were told of their love for shepherds, for a Hylas or a Daphnis; nor were the gods untouched by their charms. Sometimes they were summoned to the council of the gods on Olympus; but their proper place was rather in the train of one of the gods —with Artemis in her hunting, in the chorus of Apollo, waiting on Demeter and Persephone, or joining in the revels of Dionysus.

The Bacchantes and Mænads who followed in the train of Dionysus differed from other nymphs in degree rather than in character. For the Mænads too were nymphs of vegetation, wreathed in ivy or laurel or smilax, carrying thyrsi tipped with pine cones. Their sportive, often cruel, play with serpents, fawns, wolves, and panthers is only an indication of their proper haunts in the forest. The very wildness of their orgies belongs with the primitive belief that in the wild storms of later winter are set free the spirits which make vegetation germinate. This unchecked freedom belongs alike to the Mænads and to the god their leader who was said to inspire them. Swinging torches and thyrsi, stirred to frenzy by the cymbal and the flute, dancing and shouting, now suckling the young of wild beasts, now tearing them in pieces alive to devour their

raw flesh, these spirits of the wood followed in the train of Dionysus.

His male attendants were Satyrs and Sileni. The Satyr was a being half human, half goat, product of the shepherd's imagination as he led his flocks among the mountains. His goat's ears and tail and sometimes his horns and cloven feet separated him from mankind; his nature also was lacking in intellectuality. Fond of wine and with strong animal passions, cowardly and malicious, he was linked with humanity only by his love of music. These creatures, in whom natural desire was unchecked by conscience or any real mental life, hardly more than animals except for their sympathies and emotions, exercised a great fascination over the Greek poet and sculptor. Even after the end of paganism they were not forgotten; they suggest some of the strange demons that found a place on Gothic churches. They too were quite at home in the train of Dionysus.

Sileni, like Satyrs, had the tails and ears of beasts; they were fond of wine, and they also were musicians. But they belong in Asia Minor rather than in Greece, and at first they seem to have been water spirits. Marsyas was such a Silen, that rival of Apollo who was flayed alive by the god for his presumption. It was a Silen, spirit of a mountain spring, whom King Midas made drunk with wine, and chained. As the nymphs were prophets, so this Silen is said to have revealed hidden things to Midas—a pessimistic wisdom. It was this same Midas who thought the music of Marsyas superior to Apollo's and who in punishment received the ears of an ass. In the Greek imagination the Sileni became companions of Dionysus like the Satyrs, only more repulsive. Drunken old men with bloated bodies often covered with hair, they followed Dionysus on asses, or supporting each other, never separated from their beloved wine skins.

Nymphs. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, vi, 18; Milton, *Comus*, 422 f.; *Lycidas*, 50.

Dryads. Pope, *Moral Essays*, IV, 94; Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale*:

"Thou, light-winged Dryad of the trees."

W. S. Landor, *The Hamadryad*.

Mænads. Schiller, *Die Götter Griechenlands*; Longfellow, *Drinking Song*:

"Round about him fair Bacchantes,
Bearing cymbals, flutes, and thyrses."

E. Gosse, *The Praise of Dionysus*; M. Arnold, *Bacchanalia of the New Age*.

Satyrs. Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 737 f.; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, vi, 18; Milton, *Lycidas*, 35; R. Buchanan, *The Satyr*; cf. Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*.

Marsyas. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 382–400; M. Arnold, *Empedocles on Etna*, II (Callicles); L. Morris, *Marsyas* (*Epic of Hades*).

Midas and Silenus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 85 f.; John Lyly, *Midas*; Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, III, ii, 101; Pope, *Dunciad*, III, 324; Swift, *The Fable of Midas*; Shelley, *Hymn of Pan*; W. S. Landor, *Silenus*.

8. **Hermes, the God of Shepherds.**—Whatever the original nature of Hermes,* a point much disputed, he was known to the Greeks as the god of herdsmen, and as the herald. Apollo also was a god of flocks, closely associated with Hermes, but Apollo was quite generally lifted out of the sphere of daily life into the class of the greater gods; for mythology, if not for worship, his connection with shepherds was but one small part of his nature. Hermes was the child of Zeus and Maia (mother), born on Mt.

* Hermes is explained by E. Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 97) as derived from ἕρμα, the heap of stones which indicated the presence of this god by the roadside.

Cyllene in Arcadia, the land of flocks and herds. "At dawn he was born, at midday he was playing on the lute, in the evening he stole the oxen of Far-Darting Apollo." * The lute (or lyre) he fashioned from a tortoise's shell, inserting in it the horns of an ox, and stretching seven strings

FIG. 54.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING (fifth century B. C.).
Apollo is standing among his cattle, while at the right the baby Hermes lies in his wicker cradle; the cradle is in the form of a shoe.

from the shell to a crossbar connecting the ends of the horns. It was a shepherd's instrument, and his music was the music of shepherds.

"But other were the thoughts of his heart." Hungry already for meat, he went at sundown to Olympus. With all the cunning of the shepherd boy playing some trick on his fellows, he drove off the cattle of Apollo from Pieria on Mt. Olympus. His own footsteps were obscured by sandals of branches and leaves, while the cattle were driven backward so that their tracks would point toward home. Seer only by one old farmer he made his way through Bœotia into the Peloponnese, and on the banks of the Alpheius he sacrificed two cows. The remains of these two were completely consumed; and after the others had been carefully

* *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, II.

concealed in a cave, Hermes returned to his cradle in the cave of Mt. Cyllene. The rest of the story deals with the unsuccessful attempt of the baby god to deceive Apollo and Zeus, which greatly amused the gods; the restoration of the cattle; and the reconciliation of Apollo by means of the gift of the lyre. The importance assigned to the cattle in this story suggests again that both Apollo and Hermes were pastoral deities. Thereafter Hermes was closely linked with Apollo. Both were patrons of the flocks, of music, of gymnastics, and of roads; both were willing servants performing the behests of Zeus.

The cunning of the shepherd, particularly of the shepherd's boy, continued to be a mark of Hermes. It was from him that Autolycus gained his skill in thievery.* It was he, according to the fable of Babrius (lvii), who went from land to land with a cart full of lies, till the Arabians relieved him of all that he had. It was Hermes who helped make the typical woman by giving her a crafty heart.†

Again, the god who invented the shepherd's lyre invented also the syrinx, or shepherd's pipe. In that bucolic music which was so characteristic of pastoral life in Greece, Hermes excelled; and in this as in other matters the shepherds honored him as their patron.

The place assigned to Hermes as a pastoral deity is not due primarily to such indirect suggestions as these. He is called ἐπιμήλιος and νόμιος, the patron of flocks. Arcadia, the land of his birth, was the home of the shepherd. According to the *Iliad* ‡ he honored Ilioneus, the son of Phorbas (Shepherd) with great riches, and Eudoros was his son by Polymele (of Many Herds); the ram with the golden fleece which played so large a part in Greek myth came from Hermes, a symbol of wealth in flocks. The

* *Odyssey*, xix. 395.
† Hesiod, *Erga*, 78.
‡ XIV, 490; XVI, 179.

manners of Hermes were those of the countryside.* He wore the shepherd's cap. He was often worshiped in the guise of a shepherd carrying a ram or a calf. In a word he was the patron of the shepherd in all phases of his life, for his own interests were identical with those which each day occupied the attention of his worshiper.

FIG. 55.—MARBLE STATUE OF HERMES CARRYING THE INFANT GOD DIONYSUS, BY PRAXITELES (fourth century B. C.).

Hermes is leaning on a tree trunk over which is his garment; in his right hand he held perhaps a bunch of grapes for which the child holds out his hand.

The diversions of the shepherd were music and athletic contests. Whether or not it was due to this cause, Hermes was the patron of athletics, himself the ideal youth who excelled in them. As a babe he had "dragged out the kine and thrown them to the ground . . . for his strength was great."† The same cunning which was exhibited in the theft of the cattle was the second element of success in the popular Greek contest of wrestling. And Hermes was swift of foot to carry the messages of the gods. Swiftness, shrewdness, and strength—these Hermes possessed, and these he im-

* *Homeric Hymn*, II, 295.

† *Homeric Hymn*, II, 117.

parted to his worshipers. Thus his statue was commonly found in the gymnasium, for he was himself the embodiment of the ideal of every contestant there.

Hermes—Music. Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 940; Gray, *Progress of Poesy*; Milton, *Comus*, 962; Ibid., *Paradise Lost*, XI, 132:

> "Charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the pastoral reed
> Of Hermes, or his opiate rod."

Hermes—Birth. *Homeric Hymn* (translated by Shelley); Goethe, *Phöbus und Hermes*; Keats, *Fragment of an Ode to Maia.*

9. **Hermes the God of Heralds and Merchants; Mercury.** —The Greek herald was a young man strong and fond of adventure, of ready wit in meeting men and with the shrewdness necessary to escape from sudden danger. It is not strange that the patron of gymnastics and the god of cunning should be at the same time the divine herald. In Homer Iris was the messenger of the gods, particularly in the *Iliad*, but the herald to fulfill their commissions, to escort Priam to the tent of Achilles, or to win Odysseus's freedom from Calypso, was Hermes. Hermes wore the cap and cloak of the Greek traveler; his shoes were winged to carry him rapidly to his destination; in his hand he carried the herald's wand (*caduceus*), once a magic rod to do his bidding, later a simple staff or a staff with conventionalized serpents at the end; and his voice was "greater than Stentor's." With the development of oratory Hermes was invested with gifts in this direction, and public speakers looked to him as their patron. In Attica, at least, the tongues of animals that had been sacrificed were cut out and offered to Hermes. As the herald was an important officer at public sacrifices, Hermes was often represented along with other gods in scenes of sacrifice. At Eleusis he was specially honored as the patron of the

heralds (*kerykes*) of the mysteries; but elsewhere too he was regarded as the patron god of human heralds.

The god of heralds in their journeys was at the same time the protector of travelers generally. He was worshiped as Hermes the god of roads (Enodios) in the form of piles of stones (cairns), or stone blocks along the roads. In Attica these pillars bore the head of the god to remind the wayfarer of his protector. In the public squares and entrances — for example, the entrance to the Acropolis—were found these "herms." At crossroads and the borders of countries they served to guide the traveler—forerunners it may be of the milepost and of the guidepost as well. For when the traveler needed a guide he sought the aid of Hermes.

FIG. 56.—TERRA COTTA FIGURINE.

A wayfarer sits before a "herm," i. e., a square pillar surmounted by the head of Hermes.

Men traveled in early Greece sometimes on public business, mainly in the interest of trade. This god who protected the traveler, who watched over social intercourse, and who withal was the impersonation of shrewdness, fittingly expressed the Greek conception of a patron of commerce. Not only the traveling peddler, but the merchant in the market place also sought his aid. And they pictured their god of gain as himself carrying a full purse.

Finally this traveler's god guided men in their last journey to the realm of Hades.* Hermes and Persephone

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* *Odyssey*, xxiv.

were worshiped at the All Souls' feast of Athens, the Anthesteria. As god of the earth he granted miners good fortune, in addition to receiving the dead; and he was recognized as the god of night in that the last libation at the banquet was offered to him.

Of the many-sided Hermes only one phase was worshiped under the name of **Mercury** at Rome. The root from which has come our word "merchant" is the same as that from which the name Mercury was formed. At Rome he was the god of commerce; and he was linked with Poseidon, for the sea was the great field for this commerce. Mercury was pictured by the Romans as carrying the purse and herald's staff, and wearing a winged hat. His temple was near that of Ceres by the Circus Maximus. Here a merchants' guild, established by the state, presided over the worship of the god. He who was making ventures in trade sought the blessing of Mercury by prayer and incense; while he who had engaged in doubtful practices was here cleansed from the taint of evil on being sprinkled with a laurel branch dipped in holy water. Greek myths of Hermes were retold by Roman poets, but the god Mercury remained simply a patron of merchants.

Hermes the Herald. Virgil, *Æneid*, IV, 222; Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 673 f.; Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 527; Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, II, ii, 45; *Hamlet*, III, iv, 58; *King Henry IV*, pt. i, IV, i, 106; *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV, xv, 36; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 717; V, 285; *Comus*, 637.

Hermes in Greek Art.—Hermes was often represented for his worshipers by a simple pillar, the top of which was carved as a head (herm). In earlier art the statues of Hermes represented him as a mature man with short beard, wearing a chlamys. The youthful Hermes, often entirely nude and wearing on his feet winged sandals, belongs to the fourth century and later. The sandals, the hat (round or broad brimmed), the chlamys, and the herald's staff (*kerykeion*) were his attributes as the messenger of the gods and the

patron of human travelers. The ram which he sometimes carries refers to his character as a god of shepherds.

Some of the more celebrated statues of Hermes are the following:

Olympia: Hermes with ram; consecrated by the Arcadians; by Onatas, Sq. 427.

Tanagra: Hermes with ram; by Calamis, Sq. 513.

Olympia: Hermes with infant Dionysus; by Praxiteles (Fig. 55), Sq. 1223.

In the Orpheus relief (Fig. 75, page 241) Hermes appears as the messenger of the gods, sent to escort Eurydice back to the lower world.

10. **Pan.**—Pan * combines in his nature the characteristics of the Satyrs and of Hermes. According to the *Homeric Hymn*,† Hermes kept the sheep of Dryops; and it was the daughter of Dryops who bore to him Pan. Pan was more of a goat even than the Satyrs, for he had a goat's legs and horns and beard; he lived among the mountains, leaping from one rock to another as do the goats; he led the Satyrs in pursuit of the wood nymphs. At the same time his nature reflects as in a rude mirror the characteristics of Hermes. His home also is in the caves of Cyllene and of the other Peloponnesian mountains. He plays the flute and dances with the shepherds in the evening, while at noonday when the shepherds sleep there is a sleep of Pan which none dares disturb. The story of the love of Pan for the nymph Echo is but an allegory expressing the shepherd's love for music as it reëchoed in the rocky mountain passes. In such spots travelers and shepherds alike looked to Pan for protection. The sound of his own voice may frighten the wanderer, or those very surroundings which now fascinate him may later inspire him with terror. Such was the *pan-ic* fright, the terror sent

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* The name Pan is from the same root as πάω, and means the "shepherd."

† XVIII.

by the god Pan. It was such a panic which was ascribed to the Persian soldiers at Marathon, so that thereafter Pan was worshiped at Athens in a cave at the foot of the Acropolis.

Fig. 57. — Marble Statue of Pan in the National Museum at Athens.

Pan is represented as a bearded man with the legs of a goat.

In the train of Dionysus there was not one Pan, but many, as there were many Satyrs and Sileni. Like the Silen caught by Midas, Pan had the gift of prophecy; he shared the Bacchic inspiration and at many points his oracles had a local reputation. Even in the story of Apollo's contest with Marsyas the name of Pan is sometimes substituted for that of Marsyas, so similar in nature were Pans and Sileni. Pan differed from the Satyrs, however, in that he was widely worshiped himself, while they were simply attendants of a god. His orgiastic worship was an attempt to get into touch with the life of nature manifested in the mountain fastnesses, where the goat was its fitting symbol. As Dionysus was worshiped with torches at night among the mountains, as Rhea and Cybele were "mothers" of animal life in the forests, so Pan was an exponent of this nature life worshiped at night with mystic ceremony.

Pan is the Greek word meaning "all." Perhaps it was

inevitable that the name should be dissociated from the fears and the pleasures of shepherds, from the goats and their mountain rocks, from Dionysus and his train, to become a name for the all-god of a late philosophy. This Pan of philosophy may be the god of whom Plutarch * tells the following story. As a merchant ship was sailing past the island of Paxus the Egyptian pilot heard a voice that bade him, when he should be opposite Palodes, to cry out "Great Pan is dead." And when in due time he obeyed the injunction, there was a sound of many voices groaning and expressing wonder. For in truth the gods of Greece were doomed.

Pan. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 699 f.; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 266:

> ". . . while universal Pan,
> Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,
> Led on th' eternal spring."

Cf. IV, 707; *Paradise Regained*, II, 190; *Comus*, 176, 268; Fletcher, Songs in *The Faithful Shepherdess*; Pope, *Summer*, 50:

> "Rough satyrs dance and Pan applauds the song."

Keats, *Endymion*, I, 78; Shelley, *Hymn of Pan*; W. S. Landor, *Pan and Pitys*; *Cupid and Pan*; Schiller, *Die Götter Griechenlands*; E. B. Browning, *The Dead Pan*; E. C. Stedman, *Pan in Wall Street*; R. Buchanan, *Pan*; R. Browning, *Pan and Luna*; *Pheidippides* (*Dramatic Idylls*); Swinburne, *Pan and Thalassius*.

Pan in Greek Art.—Pan is represented with the horns of a goat, and commonly with the legs and feet of a goat; in his hands the shepherd's pipe is a natural attribute. In the *Greek Anthology*, mention is made of a Pan accompanied by Danaë and nymphs, from the hand of Praxiteles (Sq. 1206 f.).

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* *De defecta oracula*, xvii.

CHAPTER VII

GODS OF HUMAN LIFE: APHRODITE, ARES, HEPHÆSTUS, ETC.

1. **Aphrodite, the Goddess of Love in Nature.**—The gods considered in the previous chapters are closely linked with human life: they reflect humanity in their nature, while at the same time they are guardians and rulers of mankind. For, though Apollo and Hermes are gods of flocks, and Hera is the goddess of marriage, and Athena of wisdom, this is only one side of their being. There remain certain divinities whose nature is limited to the expression of one phase or another of human life; for example, Aphrodite, the goddess of love. Not that love is treated in the spiritual sense alone; it is treated as a universal cosmic principle. It includes the impulse which causes animals to pair; and as it is the power on which depends the continuation of animal life, so Eros (Love) finds a place in the cosmogony as the principle which brings heaven and earth together and gives rise to later forms of life.

According to Homer * Aphrodite was the daughter of Zeus and Dione. Hesiod † tells the better known story, that she was born from the foam of the ocean and washed ashore by the waves on the island of Cyprus. Cyprus certainly became her favorite home, a most important seat of her worship. This connection with Cyprus at once

* *Iliad*, V, 370.

† From Hesiod on, the name *Aphrodite* was explained as "foam-born" (ἀφρός, foam).

suggests the Semitic peoples, with whom the Greeks came into closest contact on this island. It is possible that this goddess of feminine charms, so different in her nature from an Artemis or a Hera, was directly adopted from the Semitic Astarte. In any case, the licentious rites in her worship may be explained as the continuation of Semitic worship of the reproductive force in nature. But just as

FIG. 58.—MARBLE RELIEF FROM THE "LUDOVISI THRONE" IN THE THERMÆ MUSEUM AT ROME.

Two women standing on the seashore hold a garment in front of a young woman (Aphrodite?) who seems to be rising from the sea.

the Greeks adopted many elements of their art from other nations only to place on them the stamp of their own genius, so Aphrodite became a truly Greek goddess.

The story of Adonis best illustrates that side of her nature which came from the East. The name for Adonis is but the Semitic invocation "Adonai," meaning "my lord." In the Greek myth he was a beautiful youth born of one Myrrha. Pursued by her father Phœnix (Phœnician) because she had yielded to the power of Aphrodite, Myrrha was transformed by the goddess into a tree (the Arabian myrtle, from which came the perfume known as myrrh).

It was from the bark of this tree that in due time her son Adonis was born. Aphrodite intrusted him to the care of Persephone; and when Persephone refused to give him back to Aphrodite, it was ordained by Zeus that he should spend part of the year with each of these goddesses. Adonis grew up with the nymphs and hunted with Artemis. At length, when the beautiful youth was slain by a wild boar, the red anemone sprang from his blood. At Athens and elsewhere "gardens of Adonis" were house plants raised in honor of the god. For Adonis was a god of vegetation whose return in the spring was welcomed by the worshipers of Aphrodite with unbounded joy, joy that turned into mourning when he was slain by the sun's rays. In Cyprus it was said that Aphrodite as well as Adonis died with vegetation and was born anew each spring. Wherever she was worshiped she was a goddess of spring, present in the gardens and the flowers, present in the moist earth where the seed was germinating, present too in the animal world.

FIG. 59.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED LECYTHUS (fifth century B. C.). Aphrodite riding on a swan.

Aphrodite was a goddess of sailors, possibly because the spring was the season when shipping was resumed after the storms of winter. Gentle zephyrs were the blessing she sent, and the protection of ships that lay at anchor in the harbor. At many points this phase of the goddess was called Aphrodite Æneas, on the supposition that her worship was established by her son on his wanderings from Troy.

The ancient Italic goddess **Venus** seems to have been the protector of vegetation; in particular, the goddess who watched over market gardens. The vegetable sellers observed as a holiday the day on which her temple was

founded at Rome. It was not this phase of Aphrodite, however, which led to the establishment of her worship at Rome; the Roman Venus was the goddess of love.

Aphrodite. Virgil, *Æneid*, V, 801; Horace, *Odes*, I, iv, 5 f.; Herrick, *A Nuptial Song*, 10:

"Emergent Venus from the sea . . ."

Adonis. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 503 f.; Virgil, *Eclogues*, X, 18; Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*; Milton, *Elegies*, I, 61; *Paradise Lost*, IX, 439; *Comus*, 998:

"Beds of hyacinth and roses,
Where young Adonis oft reposes,
Waxing well of his deep wound,
In slumber soft, and on the ground
Sadly sits the Assyrian queen."

Pope, *Summer*, 61:

"In woods bright Venus with Adonis stray'd."

Ibid., *Song by a Person of Quality*, 9 f.

Cf. Calverley, *The Death of Adonis*, from Theocritus; and A. Lang, translation of Bion's *Idyll*, I.

2. **Aphrodite, the Goddess of Human Love.**—The Greek Aphrodite, in distinction from the Oriental, was primarily a goddess of human love. In the myth of the judgment of Paris she disputes the prize of beauty with Hera and Athena, with the queen of the gods and with the goddess of war and wisdom. From the Greek point of view she was entitled to the prize apart from her promise to Paris of the most beautiful woman for his wife; moreover the promise was in direct accord with her nature. The poets ascribed to her all the charms of womankind. They did not tire of praising her eyes, her fair neck, her delicate ears, her bewitching smiles. For their imagination she was crowned with flowers and fragrant with perfume; golden headbands, earrings, and necklaces were the resplendent setting for her beauty; the

FIG. 69.—MARBLE STATUE FOUND ON THE ISLAND OF MELOS AND NOW IN THE LOUVRE (second century B.C.?).

Aphrodite stands looking off into space with a dreamy expression; her right hand may have supported the drapery which has been allowed to fall to her waist; her left arm was raised, possibly resting on a high pillar.

Graces were her worthy attendants. In this triumphant beauty was incarnate the spirit of love.

Such a goddess beautiful women worshiped as the source of their charms. Helen yielded her obedience at Sparta and at Troy. Ariadne is described almost as if she herself were an Aphrodite. The story of Phædra and Hippolytus is an illustration of her power; because Hippolytus disdained all love, she made Phædra his step-mother fall in love with him, though it brought destruction to them both. Medea was ready to betray her parents—a barbarian nature swayed by passion.* So the time came when Hippodameia preferred to see her father perish rather than her lover, for she had yielded to the reign of Aphrodite.†

The goddess herself was not free from the conquering passion which she inspired in other women. Youths of striking beauty she wooed and won, attaching them to the service of her sanctuary—Phaëthon, whom she carried off to minister in her temple;‡ and Cinyras, that king of Cyprus who rivaled Apollo in music, the priest who was said to have instituted in Cyprus the worship of this goddess. Paris became such a favorite of Aphrodite—gifted in music and the dance and in ways that delight the heart of women. Aphrodite fell in love with Butes, one of those who sailed on the *Argo*; and Eryx, her son by Butes, became the reputed founder of the most celebrated shrine of Aphrodite in Sicily. The *Homeric Hymn* § tells of her love for Anchises, who kept his herds on the slopes of Mt. Ida. The goddess bore him a son, Æneas, the one fortunate member of the race of Dardanus. Brought up by the nymphs of Mt. Ida, winning a reputation for bravery in the Trojan war and for filial piety in his rescue of his aged father, he was protected by his goddess mother in his long

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* See Chapter XII, i, § 3.

† See Chapter XIII, § 1 (6).

‡ Hesiod, *Theogony*, 989 f.

§ III, *To Aphrodite.*

flight to Italy; and the favor of the goddess continued to rest on his descendants, the Julian *gens*.

Two sides of the nature of Aphrodite were distinguished with some clearness. Under the name Pandemos she was the goddess of that passion which has wrought so much havoc in society, the goddess of love unrestrained by law or custom. Aphrodite Urania, on the other hand, was the goddess of pure wedded love. The charms of the young wife were her gifts, she was invoked in childbirth, and her care continued to bless the growing children.

Fig. 61.—Marble Statue of Eros in the Vatican (much restored).

Eros is represented as a very young boy in the act of stringing a large bow.

Aphrodite was attended by **Eros** (Love). First conceived as a youth, then as a boy, finally as a baby, this Eros (Cupid) flew to execute the commissions of Aphrodite. In his hand he carried a lyre, standing for the music of love, or a bow and arrow to pierce the heart of his victim. In Cyprus, Eros was worshiped as the god of spring; at Thespiæ in Bœotia, games were held in his honor; and often his image with that of Hermes or Apollo found a place in the gymnasium. The allegory of Eros and Psyche (Soul), of love and the

mind under the power of love, found great favor in later times; Psyche, conceived in the form of a butterfly or of a maiden with butterfly's wings, was so attached to Eros that she received at his hands now untold bliss, now equal torture. Eros, or it may be a group of Erotes, commonly appears in pictures of Aphrodite, receiving her caresses, or sometimes aiding her in her toilet.

At Rome, **Venus** was worshiped as the goddess of love. As the mother of Æneas and the ancestor of the Roman people, she received special honors. Julius Cæsar built a temple to Venus Genetrix, mother of the Julian *gens*, and established games in her honor. In Rome as in Greece she was the goddess of love as a passion, and on the other hand she was the protector of the family, Venus Verticordia. It was this latter Venus whose image was bathed and adorned with flowers each spring by women of the upper classes, while wives of all classes sought her blessing on the family. The remains of Hadrian's temple of Roma and Venus attest the honor paid to her.

Aphrodite (Venus), the Goddess of Love. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V, 363 f.; Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 240 f.; Spenser, *Epithalamium*, 103 f.; *Prothalamium*, vi; Shakespeare, *Tempest*, IV, i, 93 f.; *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, i, 171; Milton, *Paradise Regained*, II, 213:

> "Descend with all her winning charms begirt
> To enamour, as the zone of Venus once
> Wrought that effect on Jove."

Ibid., *Comus*, 124:

> "Venus now wakes, and wakens Love."

Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon* (third chorus); Morris, *Aphrodite (Epic of Hades)*; E. R. Sill, *Two Aphrodites*.

Venus and Mars. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 167 f.

Venus and Anchises. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 425 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 228 f., 618, etc.

Cupid and Psyche. Milton, *Comus*, 1003 f.; Keats, *Ode to Psyche*; Morris, *Cupid and Psyche* (*Earthly Paradise*); T. Moore, *Cupid and Psyche.*

Aphrodite in Greek Art.—The earliest figures which are understood to represent Aphrodite suggest an oriental goddess of reproduction in that they are nude. In Greek art of the fifth century she is a fully draped young woman, the embodiment of feminine beauty and attractiveness. After some experiments in the use of transparent drapery and garments that partially cover the figure, she is represented in the fourth century as entirely nude. A mirror in her hands suggests her sense of her own charms; an apple or a dove has reference to her nature as the goddess of love.

The more celebrated statues of the goddess are the following:

Sicyon: statue of Aphrodite with poppy and apple; by Canachus, Sq. 407.

(Aphrodite?) Sosandra by Calamis, Sq. 518 f.

Elis: temple statue of Aphrodite in gold and ivory; by Pheidias, Sq. 755 f.

Athens: temple statue of Aphrodite ἐν κήποις; by Alcamenes, Sq. 812 f.

Amyclæ: statue by Polycleitus, Sq. 942.

Elis: statue of Aphrodite Pandemos on a goat; by Scopas, Sq. 755.

Cnidos: temple statue by Praxiteles, Sq. 1227 f.

Cos: draped statue by Praxiteles, Sq. 1227.

The paintings of Aphrodite in Cos by Apelles should also be mentioned, Sq. 1847 f.

3. **Ares (Mars).** — Ares * is the personification of the spirit of battle. War is his delight, war his sole occupation. Attended by Enyalius and Eris (Strife) and Phobos (Fear) and Kydoimos (Uproar of Battle) he makes his presence felt where the conflict rages most fiercely. He fights with human weapons, not with thunderbolt or ægis; and his nature is half human. Not only does he quail before

* Probably the root is the same as that which appears in ἀρετή, "excellence, valor."

Athena * but, with the aid of the goddess, Diomedes can actually wound him with his spear †—a wound which he bears with even less than human fortitude. In the Trojan war he fights against the Greeks, and Homer credits Thrace with being his home. Athena is the Greek war goddess, while Ares represents rather the wild onset of a barbarian horde.‡ Although he is called the son of Zeus and Hera, he is not welcome among the gods. This war god was regarded as a youth, strong and passionate as he was fierce. At Thebes and Argos he was worshiped with Aphrodite, for both were gods of youth.§ At Athens, the ancient court where men were tried for murder bore the name of this god: it was the Areopagus, the "Hill of Ares." Ares, so the story ran, had slain Halirrhothius, the son of Poseidon, for laying violent hands on his daughter; on this charge he was tried by the gods and pronounced not guilty. According to another myth the Amazons, daughters of Ares, made their camp on the Areopagus when they attacked the Acropolis; they gave the hill its name, for here they had sacrificed to the god of war. One of the sons of Ares was the Thracian king, Diomedes, who fed his horses on human flesh, till Heracles came and fed him to his own horses. Another was Cycnus, the robber who beheaded stragglers from the procession of Apollo, till Heracles slew him at Apollo's bidding. And when Ares in anger attacked Heracles, Zeus, so runs the myth, separated his two sons by a thunderbolt.

Mars (for whom the month of March was named) was a far more important god at Rome than was Ares in Greece. Originally he was not simply a god of war. To him people looked for protection from plagues that attacked man and beast, and from the manifold dangers hanging over the

* *Iliad*, XXI, 400. † *Iliad*, V, 853 f.

‡ Cf. *supra* Chapter I, p. 54.

§ Cf. *Iliad*, XXI, 416 f.; *Odyssey*, VIII, 267 f.

crops. Even then he was the god of war, worshiped by a people devoted to war. The departing army received his blessing, and returning they consecrated the spoils to him. His priests, arrayed in the armor of Roman soldiers, honored him by performing a sort of war dance. The shields carried by these Salii or "leapers" were said to have been made by King Numa on the model of a sacred shield of Mars that had fallen from heaven. Where the army assembled for training (in the Campus Martius, or on the

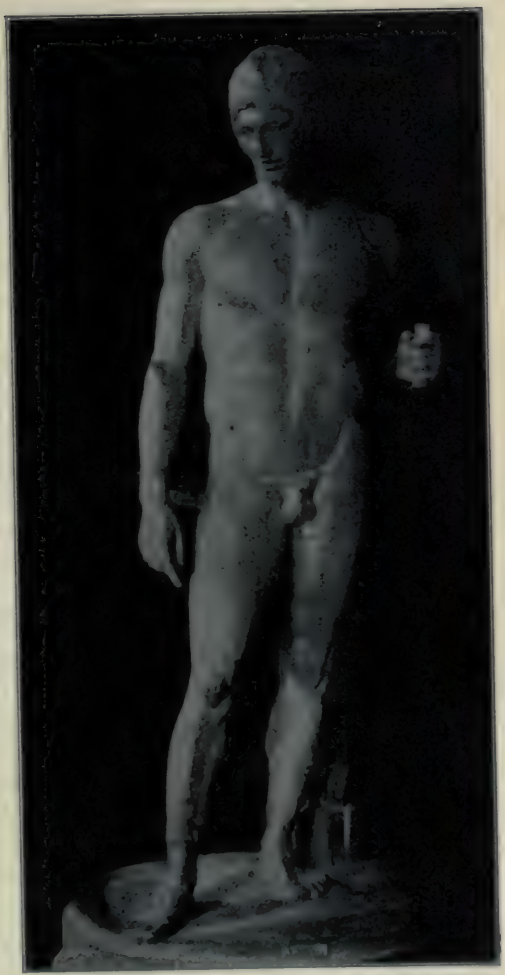

FIG. 62.—THE SO-CALLED ARES BORGHESE, NOW IN THE LOUVRE (copy of a fifth-century work, sometimes attributed to Alcamenes).

A young warrior, probably Ares, has just stepped back; in his left hand was a spear.

spot known as *ad Martis*) were the centers of his worship; the war horse was his peculiar sacrifice, his sacred symbol the dreaded wolf. *Gradivus* often appears as an epithet of Mars. Mars himself was the ancestor of the Roman people, the father of Romulus and Remus; and it was the wolf of Mars who suckled his children. The genius of the Roman people was for war and for political organization; thus it came about that while Jupiter, the king of heaven, was their chief god, the second place was assigned to Mars.

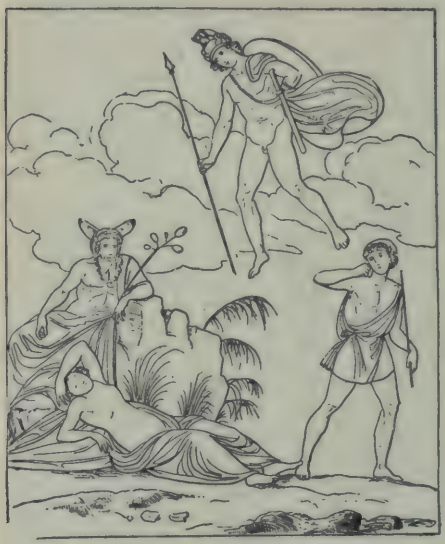

FIG. 63.—WALL PAINTING FROM THE BATHS OF TITUS.

Mars descends from the clouds to Rhea Silvia (mother of Romulus and Remus), who is sleeping at the feet of Somnus, the god of sleep; at the right a shepherd hastens away in astonishment.

Quirinus, worshiped on the Quirinal hill, was a god of almost exactly the same character as Mars. He shared the spoils of war with Mars and Jupiter; a second group of Salii performed war dances in his honor; his flamen had the same rank as the flamen of Mars. While Mars was held to be the father of Romulus, Romulus was sometimes himself identified with Quirinus. So far as we can learn, this Quirinus was the god of one of the independent communities which were merged in the city of Rome. The community lost its identity, and continued to exist only in the honor paid to its god.

Mars. Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 857 f.; III, 167 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 13 f.; X, 541; Horace, *Odes*, I, vi, 13; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, xi, 7:

"Till I of warres and bloody Mars doe sing."

Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, pt. i, IV, i, 116:

"The mailed Mars shall on his altar sit
Up to the ears in blood."

Ibid., *Hamlet*, III, iv, 57:

"An eye like Mars, to threaten and command."

Dryden, *Secular Masque*, 53.

Ares in Greek Art.—The earlier vase paintings represent Ares as a bearded man in full armor. The extant statues of Ares, none of them copied from work of an early period, make him a beardless youth; he is nude except for the helmet on his head, and carries shield, sword, and spear. The most celebrated statue of Ares is a colossal seated figure by Scopas, which later was brought to Rome (Sq. 1173).

4. **Hephæstus.**—A third god of human life was Hephæstus,* the patron of the handicrafts. The son of Zeus and Hera, he had no high place among the gods. Homer † pictures him as hobbling about, for he was lame, serving the other gods with nectar and comforting Hera when she had come under the displeasure of Zeus. His lameness received a mythical explanation in the account of his fall from heaven. Daring to oppose Zeus for his treatment of Hera, Hephæstus was hurled bodily from the sky, and fell all day long till he struck the sea by Lemnos.‡ It was in the depths of the sea, off that volcanic coast, that he was trained in all the cunning that made him renowned; and here he continued to operate his forge. The poet gives free rein to his imagination in describing the works of the

* Probably the name comes from the root which appears in ἅπτω, "set on fire."

† *Iliad*, I, 599. ‡ Cf. Chapter I, p. 47.

lame god: he had fashioned of precious bronze the homes of the gods on Olympus; figures that could walk about—so skillful was their mechanism—he had created to be his companions in his workshop; the shield he made for Achilles embodied an art perhaps honored more, for the poet understood it better. It may have been the charm of the works of Hephæstus which led the Greeks to give him Aglaia, one of the Graces, for his wife. Or Aphrodite herself was his wife, the goddess of that vegetation which flourished on the volcanic soil of Lemnos.

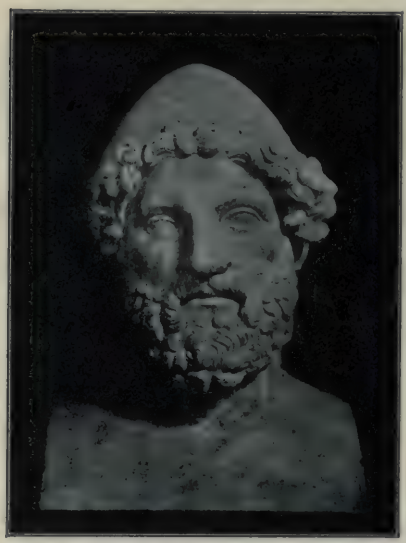

FIG. 64.—MARBLE HEAD FOUND IN ROME, AND NOW IN THE VATICAN MUSEUM (larger than life size).

Hephæstus is represented as a bearded man, wearing a workman's cap.

Hephæstus, himself a smith, was the patron of human smiths. This occupation often fell to men who were strong in body, but too lame to work in the fields. Thus Hephæstus was strong and skillful, but lame as any human smith. The cunning of the smith found outlet other than the forge and the anvil. So the story is told of the device Hephæstus made to catch Ares, who was too fond of the lame god's wife. Again it is said that Hephæstus made a trap for his mother Hera, such that when she sat down on her throne she was held fast. The gods could not free her, and Hephæstus refused to come up to Olympus, till Dionysus made him

drunk and brought him up in that condition. As the patron of the arts Hephæstus was worshiped in Athens along with Athena. Athena represented the wisdom of the craftsman, Hephæstus rather his practical skill.

Both in Attica and Lemnos, Hephæstus was the god of fire. In Lemnos the volcano was his workshop. It was to Lemnos that Prometheus brought the fire stolen from heaven for the good of man, a deed that was celebrated each year when the island was purified, and when, nine days after, fresh fire was brought from the god of light on the island of Delos. In Attica also Hephæstus and Prometheus were honored together with sacrifices and torch races. In Sicily and southern Italy Hephæstus was a smith, assisted by those demons of fire, the Cyclopes. On one island nearby, men were in the habit of bringing to his shrine a piece of iron and a coin; the next day they would receive a sword said to have been made by Hephæstus.

The Roman **Vulcan** (Vulcanus) was the god of fire, pre-eminently the fire that wrought such havoc among the wooden buildings of an ancient city. His temple was outside the walls of Rome, so much were his conflagrations feared. When the worship of the Greek Hephæstus was brought to Rome he was identified with Vulcan, and the latter became the patron of smiths.

Hephæstus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 437; Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII, 370 f.; Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 1363:

"Venus . . . spouse to Vulcanus."

Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, I, i, 187; Milton, *Elegies*, VII, 81 f.; Ibid., *Paradise Lost*, I, 740 f.

Hephæstus in Greek Art.—In art as in myth, Hephæstus seems to have been a mature man in the garb of a human smith. Alcamenes is said to have made a statue of him in which the folds of the garment were so arranged as to suggest a lameness which was not shown (Sq. 821); in a statue by Euphranor the tradition of lameness was not followed (Sq. 1800).

5. **Hestia (Vesta).**—Another god of fire was Hestia.* She had little to do with Hephæstus, for her province was the home which centered about the hearth. Because it was the source of light and heat for the house, and the power that purifies and makes sacrifice possible, the fire naturally became the symbol of the settled home. Hermes and Hestia were often put together in Greek thought, the former standing for the outside life of the husband, the latter for the home life of the wife. Hestia was the elder sister of Zeus. Although she thus belonged with the greater gods, she was not the subject of myths nor was she worshiped in great festivals. Rather the hearth fire was itself the presence of Hestia in every house, the divine presence consecrating the daily life of the family. Because other political groups of the Greek city were treated as larger families, the gens and the phratry and finally the city had each its hearth fire, the focal point of its common life. In the early kingdom the king's hearth was the center of the state; later, special officials were appointed to keep up this fire and to perform the city's worship of Hestia. The

FIG. 65.—HESTIA GIUSTINIANI, NOW IN THE COLLECTION TORLONIA AT ROME (probably a copy of a temple statue of the fifth century B. C.).

Hestia stands squarely on both feet, holding a staff in her left hand; her garment is drawn over her head as a veil.

* Ἑστία is the Greek word for "hearth."

colonies kindled their fires from the hearth of the mother city. Even the great leagues had a common hearth as the symbol of their union; and at Delphi there was a specially important hearth fire, the Hestia who symbolized the unity of all the Greeks.

Fig. 66.—Marble Head Found at Melos, and now in the British Museum (probably a Greek original of the fourth century B. C.).

Asclepius is represented as a bearded man with all the benevolence of Zeus, but without his majesty.

Vesta is originally the same word as Hestia, and the Roman goddess hardly differs from the Greek. She is the goddess of the hearth which is the center of the home, the place of sacrifice and the place where food is prepared. The *Penates*, gods of the store chamber, the *Lar familiaris*, special protector of the home, and the *Genius* of each member of the family, together with Vesta, are the divine beings whose special province it is to watch over the home. The state also had its hearth, where the Vestal flame was tended by pure virgins, with its store chamber adjoining under the protection of the Penates. The Lares were probably local spirits, watching over the house, the camp, the roads, and finally the state. While the Penates presided over the inner chamber of house or city, and the Lares were spirits of the place where house, camp, or state

was located, the Genii were "guardian angels" of the individual person. Each man had his *genius*, each woman her *juno*, watching over them through life, blessing them especially in family relations, each receiving rich gifts on the birthday of the person he was guarding. Even the gods were said to have such genii, and in later times the state had its genius as well as its Lares and Penates and its Vesta. Often this

Fig. 67.—The Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus (restoration).

genius was symbolized by a snake which was kept as a pet in the house, a custom as ancient as it is to us repulsive.

Vesta. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV, 864 f.; *Fasti*, VI, 713; Virgil, *Æneid*, II, 296, 567 f.; Macaulay, *Battle of Lake Regillus*.

6. **Asclepius.**—The function of healing originally belonged to Pæan or to Apollo. Later Asclepius, the son of Apollo, came to be generally recognized as the god of healing and the patron of human physicians. The story of his birth is told by Pindar.* Apollo fell in love with a Thes-

* *Pythian Odes*, III.

salian nymph named Coronis, but before the birth of her son she became untrue to her divine lover and was slain by him in wrath. The unborn child was rescued from the flames of the funeral pyre and brought up by Cheiron the centaur, that beneficent spirit of the wooded hills. From this tutor he learned to enjoy the hunt, and he learned also the art of healing. Indeed he learned his lesson too well, for at length he provoked the wrath of Zeus by bringing to life a man already dead. Zeus slew him with a thunderbolt; but as a spirit he continued to heal men, the more widely because he was no longer limited to the slopes of his Thessalian mountains.

FIG. 68.—MARBLE RELIEF FOUND AT EPIDAURUS, NOW IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AT ATHENS (probably a copy of the gold and ivory temple statue by Thrasymedes, fourth century, B. C.).

Asclepius sits back with his arm over the back of his chair; his hand is extended graciously toward his worshipers.

The worship of Asclepius was early brought to Epidaurus, which soon claimed to be the scene of his birth. A serpent, tended with divine honors, here symbolized the real presence of the god. In the fresh air of a high valley the art of healing was practiced by priests of Asclepius. Baths and exercise and apparently surgical operations were used in the name of the god, while his sanctuary actually served as a hospital. Contemporaneous inscriptions testify to the success of these priestly physicians. From Epidaurus the wor-

ship of Asclepius was brought to Athens, to Cos,—an important center for the medical art,—to Pergamon, and to many other points. Under the protecting ægis of this god with his daughters Epione (Soothing) and Hygieia (Health) the nascent art of medicine gained strength and vigor, and the foundations were laid for medical science.

The worship of Asclepius (Æsculapius) was introduced into Rome also from Epidaurus on the occasion of a great pestilence (293 B. C.). One of the sacred serpents was brought from Greece and given a home in a new temple on an island in the Tiber. While the god won great renown for the cures he wrought, he remained a foreign divinity hardly recognized by the Roman state.

Asclepius. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, v, 41:

"... and in her armes
To Æsculapius brought the wounded knight."

Shakespeare, *Pericles*, III, ii, 111; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IX, 506:

". . . the god in Epidaurus. . . ."

Asclepius in Greek Art.—The earlier representations of Asclepius were based on his connection with Apollo and made him a beardless youth; but, perhaps as early as the school of Pheidias, the similarity between Zeus and Asclepius in their kindly care for men developed a bearded type of Asclepius which cannot always be clearly distinguished from Zeus himself. Asclepius ordinarily carried a scepter about which a serpent was coiled; he was often accompanied by his daughter Hygieia and other minor divinities of healing.

The following statues were important enough to be mentioned by Greek writers:

Sicyon: youthful Asclepius by Calamis, Sq. 515.

Mantinea: temple statue by Alcamenes, Sq. 824.

Epidaurus: gold and ivory temple statue by Thrasymedes, Sq. 853.

Elis: gold and ivory statue by Colotes, Sq. 848.

Gortys: Asclepius and Hygieia by Scopas, Sq. 1152.

Troezen: statue by Timotheus, Sq. 1329.

CHAPTER VIII

HADES AND THE REALM OF SOULS

1. The Nature and Life of the Dead.—Greek thought of what followed death moved in the borderland between religious belief and the free play of the imagination. The dead were supernatural beings, set free from the restraints of the body, beings that should be worshiped like gods. Yet they could not be pictured as sharing the happy life of the gods on Olympus, for death was something wholly sad. In seeking to depict this life of the dead the imagination had only a few indefinite clews. That the life after death continued the present life, that the family relations and affections still remained, that the mighty hunter (like Orion *) still continued to hunt and the physician to heal, even though they were dealing with shades—this belief always guided Greek thought of the dead. At the same time the man was dead; all the substance of life, with the joy of real existence and activity, was gone; nothing was left but a shadow or a dream image, creatures of imagination peopling an unreal world. Unreal the products of the imagination often seemed, and again they seemed the most real things; souls were spirits, more like the gods than like men; the mystery of death had but given them freer scope, larger knowledge of the future, weird power to bless or to curse men. Such were the poles between which the Greek imagination moved in seeking to depict the life of the dead.

* *Odyssey*, XI, 572.

So far as the form of the dead is concerned, there were several different conceptions. Men might remember their dead as they had last seen their bodies, wounded and gory on the battlefield, or wasted by disease. Such were the shades "wounded with bronze-shod spears, men slain in fight with their bloody mail about them," whom Odysseus saw coming out of Erebus.* Or they might remember them as they had lived, women in their beauty and men in their strength. On the Attic tombstones husband and wife, mother and child are pictured as they had lived rather than as they had died; so Achilles was a king in Hades, Minos a just judge, Teiresias a prophet. Finally, the souls of the dead were often conceived as small winged things, hovering about the body or the spot where the body was buried. These creatures were winged, for the soul was no longer bound to one spot; small, for the epic told how it had flown out from the wound or from the mouth of the dying man; frequenting the place of burial, for after all the soul was the "shade" of the body. Such were the souls of the suitors whom Hermes conducted to the realm of Hades, flying and "gibbering like bats." †

The eleventh book of the *Odyssey* makes two rather definite statements as to the life of the dead. It was entirely lacking in the joy of *real* life, so that Achilles could exclaim with feeling: "Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead that be departed." ‡ This longing for the reality of life in the body finds quaint expression in the eagerness of the souls to drink the blood shed by Odysseus, and in the belief that those who drank did regain for a time something of their old selves. In the words of Tiresias: "Whomsoever of the

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* *Odyssey*, XI, 40 f. † *Odyssey*, XXIV, 7.
‡ *Odyssey*, XI, 489.

dead that be departed thou shalt suffer to draw nigh to the blood, he shall tell thee sooth; but if thou shalt grudge any, that one shall go back to his own place again."* The reason, then, why souls found no delight in Hades was that they retained no consciousness or power of thought. That men still sought to evoke the souls of the dead, or like Odysseus visited the entrance to Hades in their desire to know the future, seems to contradict the view of the soul just expressed. This contradiction is a real one. The Greeks were frank enough to be inconsistent. Death was something mysterious, supernatural, and it seemed to furnish a point of contact with the divine, a point where men could gain knowledge of the future; death was the end of the life men saw, and it was conceived as the end of all that was real or worth living.

Neither conception of the soul—neither the idea that it was divine nor the idea that it was an unsubstantial shade—seems to offer any opportunity for retribution in the future life. Yet even the Homeric poems furnish suggestions that this thought was not lacking in Greece at an early date. Like those engaged in other occupations, judges—in particular judges whose reputation for justice was widespread—were thought to continue in the future world the line of activity they had followed in this life. Minos, the early king and judge in Crete; his brother Rhadamanthus; Æacus, the grandfather of Achilles, were the famous judges who continued to perform this office among the dead. And if the dead were to be judged, what more natural than that the judgment should concern deeds done in the body? Nevertheless this thought was not developed in Greece, as it was, for instance, in Egypt. It is not as a reward to Menelaus that he is to go to the Isles of the Blessed; it is no common retribution that overtakes Tityus or Sisyphus.†

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* *Odyssey*, XI, 147. †Cf. § 5 *infra*, and Chapter X, ii, § 1, p. 269.

Still there is some difference even for the epic poet in the lot of the dead, and this difference furnished the starting point for the idea of a retribution after death. Socrates looked forward to converse with good and great men after death; those who took part in the mysteries found the as-

FIG. 69.—WALL PAINTING FOUND IN THE KITCHEN OF A HOUSE AT POMPEII. By the right of the altar in the center stands Vesta pouring a libation on the altar; at either side the two Lares are filling cups with wine from horns; at the extreme left stand Venus and Cupid. Below is a serpent, the *genius loci*, and the river-god Sarnus reclining among reeds.

surance of a blessed life with the gods and assigned to others "filth and darkness" as their portion; wherever consciousness was assigned to the dead, it involved the belief that the character of life after death depended on the character of life in the body.

In Italy the conception of the life of souls was more practical and religious, less imaginative. We inquire in

vain as to just what sort of beings souls were, but we learn much of their power over human life and of the means by which this power might be controlled. The Lares, or spirits of special localities, were probably spirits of the dead. The Manes were good souls, free from the restraints of the human body and gifted with more than human powers. As their proper home was beneath the earth, they were worshiped at a so-called "mundus," a hollow hemisphere dug in the earth corresponding to the hemisphere of the sky above. When a city was founded one of these hollows was dug and consecrated to the Manes. It was covered with a *lapis manalis*, the removal of which gave men access to the gods of the lower world and the spirits of the dead, while at the same time it permitted these spirits to come out among men. The Larvæ and Lemures, on the other hand, were souls given to mischief and harmful deeds, because they had not been properly laid to rest. Inasmuch as they were unfriendly to men, the object of their worship was either to appease them or to drive them away. Like the Furies they expressed the awful side of death, while the belief in them was a potent factor in leading men to observe with utmost care the rites of burial.

Souls. Cf. *Odyssey*, XI and XXIV with *Æneid*, VI; E. W. Gosse, *The Island of the Blest.*

2. **The Realm of Hades.**—Hades was the name not for a place, but for a person. Where this Hades lived, where men went after death, was a question that received two answers. On the one hand the departure of life from the body was emphasized; as some savage peoples have regarded the Milky Way as the path of souls to a distant region, the Greeks said that souls went beyond the day and the sunset, far, far to the west. On the other hand men's thought connected their conception of the dead with the body that remained; quite generally the body was buried

in the earth, and the abode of souls was consequently thought of as beneath the earth. In each instance souls went to the house of Hades, that king whose name meant "invisible." * His house was large, large enough to receive all the races of mankind as they left this world to go thither. The gates were wide; they were always open, nor was anyone who came hindered from entering. But those who once entered never came out; for Cerberus, a fierce dog with three heads, guarded the entrance to prevent their escape. Both in Greece and in Rome a doorkeeper, "Janitor," sometimes took the place of Cerberus.

FIG. 70.—OUTLINE PAINTING ON A WHITE LECYTHUS IN MUNICH (Athenian work of the fifth century B.C.). Hermes is bringing a shrinking woman to Charon in his boat.

The reality of an abode of souls beneath the earth became more tangible because, at various points on the surface of the earth, men believed that there was a connection between the two worlds. Where the limestone soil of Greece swallowed up a river and permitted it to flow beneath the surface, where caves seemed to lead down to the lower regions, where dangerous vapors rose from cracks in the earth's surface—in such places it seemed as though living men had direct access to this world below. In the Peloponnese Hermione vied with Tænaron in the fame of its entrance to the world of the dead; a river in the wilder part of Arcadia was called

* Ἀΐδης, from the root of ἰδεῖν, "to see," with the negative prefix, ἀ-

after the river Styx; at Cumæ the western Greeks felt themselves in close contact with the souls of the dead; at Lake Avernus in Italy the touch of death's hand was visible in its deadly vapors. What better proof could there be of the location of this realm of souls than the fact that souls could be evoked at such spots and consulted as to facts beyond the range of human knowledge?

The geography of the lower regions was defined by one or more imaginary great rivers. Of these the oldest was the Styx (Hated), a mighty stream that even Heracles could not cross without the aid of Athena.* Next in importance was Acheron (Mourning), a river or a lake which also served as a boundary to the realm of Hades. Cocytus (Lamentation) was sometimes called a branch of the Styx, or both Cocytus and Pyriphlegethon ("Flaming with Fire," for often the dead were burned) flowed into the Acheron. Over these rivers, which separated the dead from the living, the soul of the dying man must pass. This office fell to Charon, ferryman of the dead, who was pictured as an old boatman pushing his canoe through the reeds to the shore of Acheron that he might receive the dead on board. The obol piece which Athenians placed in the dead man's mouth was the fee of this grim ferryman. Of the spring of Lethe (Forgetfulness) which Plato mentions, or the Rock of Withering, or indeed of the groves of Persephone, we know but little. The poets were free to picture the joys of the worshipers of Persephone, living in the unceasing sunlight of

FIG. 71.—OBOL AND HALF-OBOL (Athenian Coins of the fifth century B. C.).

The obol was placed in the mouths of dead persons, as Charon's fee for ferrying them across the Styx.

* *Iliad*, VIII, 365 f.

FIG. 72.—RED-FIGURED PAINTING ON A SOUTH ITALIAN VASE, NOW IN ALTAMURA.

Hades and Persephone are seated beneath the canopy in the center; beneath is Heracles with the dog Cerberus; on the left are the wife and children of Heracles, Orpheus, Hermes, and Sisyphus rolling his stone up-hill; in the center on the right are the three judges of the dead, Triptolemus, Æacus, and Minos, with the daughters of Danaüs beneath them.

an eternal spring, or again the suffering of Tartarus for those who had refused to acknowledge the reign of the gods. The belief in sufferings after death took shape in the myths of sinners against the gods, which are given below. Similarly the joys of Elysium were first assigned to men like Menelaüs, who were related to the gods. "No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain; but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill west to blow cool on men: yea, for thou hast Helen to wife, and thereby they deem thee to be son of Zeus.* In later times, too, it was a relationship with the gods, such a bond as was constituted by sharing the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone, which gave men the right to expect these joys after death. In the realm of the dead beneath the earth the holy dances of these initiates were continued in the presence of Persephone herself. Or when the abode of the blessed was located far away to the west or the north, it was far away from men, but in close contact with the gods. For this geography of myth always located the abode of religious souls in some spot where they might enjoy the visible presence of the gods they had worshiped.

In Virgil's account of the visit of Æneas to the lower world he combines previous stories of such visits with hints from the worship at Cumæ.† While his companions are preparing to perform the last rites for Misenus, two doves sent by Venus conduct him to the tree with the golden twig. The Sibyl, taking this twig, leads the way through the deadly vapors of Lake Avernus into a cave, then through a dark wood to the gateway of Orcus, where dwell Harpies, Gorgons, and other mythical monsters. Reaching the river Acheron, they are ferried over by Charon and pass through the fields of sadness, where dwell those who have died in love, still pierced with the arrows of Cupid.

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* *Odyssey*, IV, 561 f. † *Æneid*, VI.

At length they reach the parting of the ways. On the left Æneas sees the abode of lost souls, surrounded by the burning river Phlegethon, while some of their woes are described by his companion, the Sibyl. Taking the right-hand road they follow a shaded path through the grove of Persephone to the abode of the gods of this region. All is joy and brightness; happy souls pass their time in dancing and singing and every pleasure. Here Anchises expounds to his son the doctrine of the rebirth of souls, and he goes on to outline the future greatness of Rome. Finally Æneas and the Sibyl return through one of the two gates of dreams.

Rivers of Hades. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, v, 31–34; Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, IV, i, 66:

"Let Fancy still my sense in Lethe steep."

Ibid., *Hamlet*, I, v, 33:

". . . Lethe wharf."

Ibid., *Henry IV*, pt. ii, II, iv, 169:

"To Pluto's damned lake by this hand, to the infernal deep, with Erebus and tortures vile also."

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 575:

". . . four infernal rivers, that disgorge
Into the burning lake their baleful streams—
Abhorrèd Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegeton,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage
Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
Lethe, the river of oblivion. . . ."

Charon. Pope, *Dunciad*, III, 19; L. Morris, *Epic of Hades*.

Elysium. Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II, vii, 37:

"And there I'll rest, as, after much turmoil,
A blessed soul doth in Elysium."

Ibid., *Henry VI*, pt. iii, I, ii, 30:

"Elysium, and all that poets feign of peace and joy."

Twelfth Night, I, ii, 3; Milton, *Comus*, 257; Cowper, *Progress of Error*; A. Lang, *The Fortunate Islands*; Schiller, *Elysium*; Shelley, *Ode to Naples*, 30; Swinburne, *Garden of Proserpine*.

Tartarus. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 858:

". . . this gloom of Tartarus profound."

Cf. Ibid., VI, 54.

3. **Hades and Persephone.**—"Mighty Hades and dread Persephone"—such is the recurring phrase of the Homeric poems. Their realm is a spot of gloom and darkness; the gods themselves are not touched by human prayer; they are the personification of all that is terrible in connection with death. As the soul is the shadow or image of the living man, so the realm of Hades and Persephone is a dim copy of this world. Hades takes the place of Zeus as its ruler; Persephone, the place of Hera. These gods are hardly more real than are the souls of the dead, except as the ever-present fact of death makes them real. Deriving their claim to existence from this source, they have nothing to alleviate the darker side of their nature. But when one turns from the early epic to a religious practice which may have come down from a still earlier period, the picture is by no means so dark. Just as the belief in a realm of Hades beneath the earth was derived from the practice of burial, so the belief in Pluto, a god of riches beneath the earth, arises when wealth is dug from the mine or acquired from the crops, which the earth bears. And the king of the lower regions is one and the same: King Hades is King Pluto, the lord of souls is the giver of wealth. We should like to know whether Hades became the giver of agricultural wealth because his wife was Demeter's daughter, or whether Persephone came to be regarded as Demeter's daughter

because her husband, like Demeter, had to do with agriculture. Probably a "Zeus of the earth" along with Demeter, presided over agriculture from an early period. Perhaps it was only later that this god of the earth's wealth was identified with Hades; and as the character of the king of the dead was made more kindly by the addition of this new side to his being, so Persephone was brought into connection with Demeter, and her place in the world below explained by the story of the Rape of Persephone.

FIG. 73.—TERRA COTTA RELIEF FROM LOCRI IN ITALY. In the background is a bearded man seated, holding a bunch of flowers; in front a woman seated beside him holds in her right hand a cock, in her left a sheaf of grain.

Great as was the change wrought in the character of Hades and Persephone, the epic conception had obtained too strong a hold to be obliterated. Demeter was generally recognized as the goddess of agriculture, while Pluto remained hardly more than a name. Hades continued for the poets to mean death with all the fears and terrors which death suggested. Nor was death any the less feared except as a few strong

minds were able to find in religion the faith to meet it with courage.

In Rome the Greek conceptions for the most part prevailed. Dis Pater (or Ditis Pater) was the husband of Proserpine and king of the lower world. The name is perhaps connected with the word *dives*, so that it would

FIG. 74.—OUTLINE PAINTING ON A WHITE LECYTHUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (Athenian work of the fifth century B.C.).

At the left Thanatos (Death) and at the right Hypnos (Sleep) are bringing the dead body of a young warrior to the tomb; a helmet is painted on the grave monument near the top.

stand for the Greek Pluto. The more commonly mentioned god of death is **Orcus**. Now lurking after his victim and awaiting the opportunity to slay him secretly, now attacking him in open warfare; now the kindly god who brings all men to their enduring rest, or again a demon of the night, a vampire seeking to suck the blood of his victim — in all these aspects Orcus is the god who brings death, rather than the king of souls. We read of a store chamber of Orcus into which he gathers his harvest, for the god of death is pictured as a reaper cutting the ripened grain. Here again the Romans dwelt on what they saw and knew,

the fact of death, instead of considering the form of existence that souls might have after death.

Of the feminine gods of the dead, such as the silent goddess *Dea Muta*, who was identified with Larunda the mother of the Lares, or *Genita Mana*, to whom men prayed that death might not enter the family, we know comparatively little. Perhaps they may be explained as the collective expression, the one for the Lares, the other for the Manes.

Roman thought of the dead was somewhat modified by the influence of Etruscan thought and practice. The Etruscan Mantus, whose name reappears in the name of the city of Mantua, corresponded to the Roman Dis Pater. The god who brought death was known as Charun; for the Greek ferryman, Charon, had become a terrible being with wild aspect seeking to slay his victims with sword or club. Neither youth nor beauty nor love was respected by him. He was pictured as hunting his victims, or leading them down to Hades, or torturing souls in this lower world.*

Hades and Persephone. Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, 467; Horace, *Odes*, II, 14, 7:

". . . illacrimabilem
" Plutona."

Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 1224:

"Ther Pluto hath his derke regioun."

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, iv, 11:

"Of griesly Pluto she the daughter was
And sad Proserpina, the Queene of hell."

Herrick, *His Age*, 7:

" None, Postumus, could e'er decline
The doom of cruel Proserpine."

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* Cf. paintings in Etruscan tombs.

Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, IV, iii, 11 f., 36; Pope, *Song by a Person of Quality*, 17 f.:

"Gloomy Pluto, king of terrors,
Arm'd in adamantine chains,
Lead me to the crystal mirrors
Watering soft Elysian plains."

4. Erinyes (Furies).—The Erinyes were spirits of the lower world, who had no close connection with Hades and Persephone. They are more like the *Arai*, personified curses, or the *Poinai*, spirits of punishment, except that their character was more clearly defined. In Homer it is the Erinyes who enforce natural law in taking away human speech from the horses of Achilles,* or social law in guarding the rights of strangers and beggars.† In particular they defend the rights of the firstborn.‡ Æschylus and later poets regarded them as spirits that avenge and punish especially crimes of violence and crimes against the family. Taking into consideration the early influence of the family in enforcing some demands of justice, and remembering further the position of the Erinyes in the lower world, one may reasonably suggest that perhaps the Erinyes once were souls of the dead pursuing those who transgressed the just rights of the family. They were pictured as winged beings, surrounded with serpents and armed with goads or lashes, the impersonation of all that men fear. In worship they were called *Semnai* (Revered), *Potniai* (Queenly), or even *Eumenides* (Kindly), partly perhaps because men feared to use a name so much hated as Erinyes, partly because even the furies might become the source of blessing to men. Like the king of the dead the Erinyes had a second side to their character in that they presided over agriculture. They could hinder the seed from sprout-

* *Iliad*, XVII, 418. † *Odyssey*, XIX, 475.
‡ *Iliad*, XV, 204; cf. also IX, 454, 571.

ing and make the land barren, or by their favoring influence make the crops prosper. Cicero identified with the furies the old Roman goddesses called Furrinæ of whom little is known. It is however the Greek Erinyes who appear under the name of Furies in the works of Ovid and Virgil.

Erinyes (Furies). Virgil, *Æneid*, IV, 384; VII, 447; VIII, 669. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 490; XI, 14.

Spenser, *Sonnet* lxxv:

"Of that selfe kynd with which the Furies fell
Theyr snaky heads doe combe."

Ibid., *Faerie Queene*, I, iii, 36:

"The black infernall Furies";

Ibid., v, 31.

Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, III, i, 271:

"With Ate by his side come hot from hell," etc.

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 596:

"Thither by harpy-footed Furies hal'd."

Pope, *Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day*, 69:

"The Furies sink upon their iron beds,
And snakes uncurl'd hang listening round their heads."

Schiller, *Die Kraniche des Ibykus*:

"Besinnungraubend, herzbethörend
Schallt der Erinnyen Gesang. . . ."

5. **Myths of the Lower World.**—The myths of the realm of Hades fall into two classes: (1) those dealing with the visits of living men to this region, and (2) those describing peculiar punishments inflicted on the souls of men that had acted presumptuously against the gods. To the first class belongs the story of Odysseus's visit to the entrance of Hades to consult the soul of Tiresias,* that story imitated by Virgil in the sixth book of the *Æneid*. The starting

* *Odyssey*, XI.

point for such stories is to be found in the belief already mentioned that there are actual openings from this world to the world below where the souls of the dead may be evoked by living men. From this necromancy (*νεκρομαντεία*) or consultation of the dead at such points, the poet finds it only a short step to the consultation of the dead in Hades; and in describing the wanderings of his hero he uses this visit to Hades as a welcome enlargement of his theme. Other visits to Hades were attributed to half-divine heroes. Orpheus, the father of music, subdued even the cruel powers that guarded death by a music inspired by love. At the death of his wife Eurydice, we are told, Orpheus made his way down to Hades and persuaded the implacable king of death to give him back his wife. The story is made tragic by the condition which Hades attached, a condition which Orpheus could not fulfill. He was told that he would lose her irrevocably if he looked at her before they arrived in the upper world. This look of Orpheus at his wife, the look compelled by love even though it meant their separation, a

FIG. 75.—MARBLE RELIEF IN THE VILLA ALBANI (copy of a Greek work of about 400 B. C.).

Orpheus (at the right) is looking at Eurydice his wife, and immediately Hermes (at the left) has come to lead her back to the lower world.

look in which all his deep emotion found expression—this was the culminating moment chosen by artists who made the story their theme. Peirithoüs, the companion of Theseus,* also made his way down to Hades with the bold purpose of carrying off Persephone herself. A lighter task was assigned to Heracles, yet the hardest of all his labors;

FIG. 76.—RED-FIGURED VASE FROM CUMÆ, NOW IN BERLIN (South-Italian work). Ixion is fastened by means of serpents to a wheel of fire; below stand Hermes and Hephæstus; the winged figure below is an Erinys, as are perhaps the winged figures at the sides.

namely, to bring up from the lower world the dog Cerberus who guarded the gates of Hades's realm. With the aid of Athena he accomplished even this task. In such stories as these did the Greeks give poetic expression to their belief in the reality of the lower world and in its all but complete separation from the world of human life.

*See Chapter XI, ii, §§ 3 and 5.

Myths of the sinners against divine rule, who suffer special punishments in Hades, are found already in Homer's picture of this region. It is characteristic of all these myths that they warned men against particular sins by pointing out the logical end to which they led. Thus Sisyphus, whose restless cunning outwitted for a time even Death himself, is pictured as restlessly rolling a stone up a hill, until at the top it slips out of his hands, and the labor must begin all over again. Tantalus the epicure must gaze on fruits which elude his efforts to grasp them, and on water which slips away when he seeks to quench his thirst. Or, according to poets later than Homer, he is the tyrant king who ever sees over his head in Hades a sword (or a mass of rock) just ready to destroy him—the picture of that unending fear which is the real retribution for acts of wicked tyranny. The cruel Ixion, never ceasing to torment and slay his victims, was bound by Zeus to a wheel of torture that never ceased to rack and torment him. The daughters of Danaüs who slew their husbands were condemned to pour water from leaky pots into a vessel with holes in its bottom, for lust never finds satisfaction. Ocnus, the cautious, hesitating man, must ever weave a rope which an ass eats as fast as it is made. Such punishments as these were not expected by men generally for their sins; they rather served as warnings of the results of sin, while at the same time they filled out the picture of what went on in Hades.

Orpheus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 1 f.; Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, III, i, 3 f.; Ibid., *Merchant of Venice*, V, i, 80; Ibid., *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III, ii, 78:

> "For Orpheus' lute was strung with poets' sinews,
> Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones,
> Make tigers tame, and huge leviathans
> Forsake unbounded deeps to dance on sands."

Milton, *Lycidas*, 58; *Il Penseroso*, 105; *L'Allegro*, 145 f.:

"Such strains as would have won the ear
Of Pluto, to have quite set free
His half regain'd Eurydice."

Pope, *Summer*, 81 f.; *Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day*, v; Shelley, *Orpheus*; Lowell, *Eurydice*; Landor, *Orpheus and Eurydice* (*Dry Sticks*); Wordsworth, *Power of Music*; R. Browning, *Eurydice to Orpheus*; L. Morris, *Orpheus* (*Epic of Hades*); E. W. Gosse, *The Waking of Eurydice*.

Sisyphus. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, v, 35:

"For Sisyphus an huge rounde stone did reele
Against an hill, ne might from labour lin."

Cowper, *Progress of Error*; E. L. Bulwer, *Death and Sisyphus*; L. Morris, *Sisyphus* (*Epic of Hades*).

Tantalus. Spenser, *An Hymne in Honour of Love*, 200; *Faerie Queene*, I, v, 35:

"There thristy Tantalus hong by the chin."

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 611:

"Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
The ford, and of itself the water flies
All taste of living wight, as once it fled
The lip of Tantalus."

L. Morris, *Tantalus* (*Epic of Hades*).

Ixion. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, v, 35:

"There was Ixion turned on a wheele,
For daring tempt the Queene of heaven to sin."

Pope, *Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day*, 67.

"Thy stone, O Sisyphus, stands still,
Ixion rests upon his wheel,
And the pale specters dance."

Ibid., *Rape of the Lock*, II, 133.
R. Browning, *Ixion* (*Jocoseria*).

The Lower World in Greek Art.—The most famous representation was the painting by Polygnotus in the Lesche of the Cnidians at

Delphi. According to the description of Pausanias the painting included people who descended to the lower world like Odysseus, Theseus, and Peirithoüs; famous mythical singers like Orpheus and Thamyris and the flute player Marsyas; large numbers of the famous women of myth such as Ariadne and Phædra, Procris, Eriphyle, and Callisto; the heroes of the Trojan war, Agamemnon, Achilles, Ajax on the Greek side, Hector, Paris, Sarpedon, Memnon on the Trojan side; and the typical sinners, Sisyphus rolling his stone, Tantalus in terror of the rock above his head, etc. In a word Polygnotus followed quite closely the lines of the Odyssey and the later epic poems in the choice of the persons with which he peopled the lower world.

CHAPTER IX

ROMAN DIVINITIES NOT ALREADY TREATED

1. Janus.—By far the most important of the gods that were not merged with some Greek divinity in myth—the only Italic god to maintain his independence among the greater gods—was Janus. In prayers men invoked Janus even before Jupiter; the Salii named him the god of gods (*divum deus*) in their ancient hymns; the priest who sacrificed to him (*rex sacrorum*) outranked the priests of the other gods; he is said to have founded the cults of the other gods in Italy. The name is connected with *jani*, "openings," and *januæ*, "gates or doors." Perhaps Janus is a personification of the door, as his wife Cardea is the hinge (*cardo*), and the god Limentinus is the threshold (*limen*). In Northern Europe also the spirits of the door were important. As the god of the door Janus was conceived as a janitor, with a key in one hand and a switch in the other In private worship he was invoked each morning as *pater matutinus*; and before any important undertaking—before the harvest, before a marriage or a birth—his blessing was sought. The most important worship of Janus was connected with the Roman forum. Here was the hearth fire of the Roman state in the temple of Vesta, here the door of the state

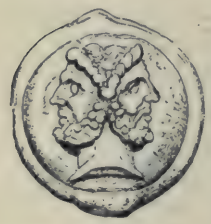

FIG. 77.—ROMAN AS (stamped ingot of copper, supposed to weigh a pound; fourth century B. C.). Double head of Janus.

through which, symbolically, the people went out to war. Probably the "house of Janus" or arch of Janus was a small square building of bronze with doors at each end, and between them a statue with heads facing in two directions (*Jani gemini portæ*). This building was supposed to be opened with formal ceremony before a war * and to remain open so long as the army was in the field. According to the Roman historians it was shut but once (in 235 B. C.) between the reign of Numa and the reign of Augustus.

As the god of beginnings Janus was worshiped at the beginning of the day, of the month, and of the year. At the beginning of the year (in January) men were to speak only good and words of good omen; then they greeted their friends with good wishes and with gifts of sweetmeats.† Because he was greeted at the beginning of the day when the gates of heaven were opened, he has been called a sun god.‡ From this point of view the Janiculum, the hill west of Rome over which the sun set, would represent the door where the sun reëntered his palace.

The spring nymph Juturna was sometimes called the wife of Janus and the mother of Fontus (Fons). Other spring nymphs also, Venilia, the mother of Canens, and Camise, the mother of Tiberinus, were assigned to him as wives.

2. **Faunus and Silvanus.**—The fauni of the Italic people were spirits of the woods, dwelling in caves and beside springs, pursuing the nymphs, engaging in dances at night, often appearing among their human neighbors at night to tease them. The name *faunus* is connected with *faveo* and means "kindly one." The god Faunus was a spirit of the woods and hills, one of the fauni, whose favor to men was assured when he was treated respectfully. It was he who

* Virgil, *Æneid*, VII. 607. † Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 175 f.
‡ Horace, *Satires*, II, vi, 20.

lent fertility to the fields; he also made the flocks bear young and, as Lupercus, protected them from wolves. As Fatuus he was a god of prophecy,* and his wife Fauna or *Bona Dea* also foretold the future. The beginnings of poetry were attributed to him. Myth made him an early king, the father of later kings, the god who established mild and pious ways among men. The local legends of Latium make him son of Picus and grandson of Saturn, a king in whose reign the Golden Age still continued. Evander, who is said to have come from Arcadia to Latium, the inventor of the alphabet and of musical instruments, the king who befriended Æneas,† was probably none other than the god Faunus treated as a human king.

FIG. 78.—BRONZE STATUETTE.
Faunus is represented as a bearded man, wearing a panther skin and a toothed crown, and carrying a drinking horn in his right hand, a club in his left hand.

Silvanus was a god of the forests very like Faunus, but that his connection with life in the woods was even more intimate than was that of Faunus. Silvanus also was a kindly spirit, watching over the hunter and the shepherd, and keeping wolves away from the flocks. In this aspect he was pictured as a mighty woodsman, and his image was set up in groves of the gods. In particular, groves consecrated to him served to mark the boundary between farms and between nations. Virgil ‡ describes such

* Virgil, *Æneid*, VII, 79. † Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII.
‡ *Æneid*, VIII, 596.

a grove near Cære, which served as a boundary between Latium and Etruria. Silvanus also was the god of the peasant's farm which had been reclaimed from the woods; at times he was worshiped not only as protector of the boundaries (*orientalis*) but as patron of the house (*domesticus*) and of the flocks (*agrestis*). In Rome under the empire he watched over parks and gardens, and in this aspect he was thought of as a gardener who especially cared for the young plants. In myth proper, Silvanus was a very unimportant figure except as stories of the Greek god Pan were transferred to him.

FIG. 79.—MARBLE STATUE FORMERLY IN PARIS.

Silvanus is represented as a bearded man with pruning knife in his right hand, and a garment full of fruits supported by his left hand.

3. **Saturnus, Ops, Consus.—Saturn** was one of the most important Italic gods—so important that Italy itself is often called Saturnia, the land of Saturn. "Saturnus," or "Saëturnus," probably means "Sower," but reaping as well as sowing belonged to this god, whose commonest symbol was the sickle. Agriculture, vine culture, and the raising of trees are said to be gifts for mankind which he brought from Greece to Italy. When Saturn was driven by Jupiter from the throne of heaven, he fled across the sea, we are told, and found refuge with the god Janus. Here he was concealed from the pursuing wrath of Jupiter (Latium = "Hidden"), and at the base of the Capitoline hill in Rome he found a new home. With

the blessings of agriculture he brought other gifts that belonged to the Golden Age—freedom from want and care and sin. When the Greek Cronus was identified with Saturn, Roman belief as to the Golden Age and its ruler was much modified; yet Saturn was a real god whose nature was never entirely obscured by foreign influences.

The main festival of Saturn was the Saturnalia. During the week beginning December 17th, men recalled the joys of the Golden Age: work was abandoned and slaves were served at table by their masters; presents were exchanged —lighted candles and doll-like puppets; and the cry of revelers was *Io bona Saturnalia.* It was a festival which looked backward to the sowing of the seed and forward to its sprouting, backward to the shortening days of the old year and forward to the new light of a new year. Its joy in new life and new light was repeated in the Christmas season of the early church.

The wife of Saturn, worshiped in the same temple with him at the west end of the Roman forum, was **Ops.** The name itself denotes the abundance (*ops*) which this kindly earth mother bestowed on her worshipers. As Ops Consiva she stands for that wealth of grain which was her special gift to men; and the same goddess who cared for the growing grain was also a goddess of human birth and growth.

Consus was an ancient god of agriculture closely allied to Saturn and to Ops. The word has been explained as meaning "Sower" (from *consero*), or better (from *condo*) as meaning the god who stowed away the product of the fields. His ancient altar in the Circus Maximus at Rome was covered with earth except at the festivals of the god. The festival of the Consualia, at which the rape of the Sabine women is said to have occurred, came on August 21st. It was a harvest festival, celebrated with sacrifice and song; the animals of the farm, as well as men, were wreathed with flowers; and the chariot races instituted by

Romulus were held in the circus. On December 15th, after the sowing was completed, there was celebrated a second festival of Consus.

4. **Divinities of Vegetation.**—A closely related series of gods have to do with spring, with gardens and flowers, with love and concord. Of these gods Venus, the most important, has already been mentioned in connection with the Greek Aphrodite. **Feronia,** figured on coins as a young woman wearing flowers in her hair, was an early goddess of spring and its flowers. The grove of Feronia at the foot of Mt. Soracte was an important center of her worship. At Præneste she was said to be the mother of Erulus, a hero with three lives whom Evander slew.* The woodpecker of Feronia was a most important bird for augury.

a. *b.*

FIG. 80.—*a.* DENARIUS OF SERVILIA. *b.* DENARIUS OF CLODIA. Head of Flora, wreathed with flowers and wearing earrings.

Flora also was an ancient goddess of flowers and of spring. According to Ovid † she was mistress of every sort of flowers, of honey the finest stuff of flowers, of the "bouquet" of wine, and of the bloom of youth. In Rome no less than in the country she was honored. Her festival (Floralia, April 28th to May 3d) became an occasion of wild gayety when every restraint of custom gave way to the carnival impulse of spring. Young women danced on beds of flowers, or ran through the crowd scattering roses, while hares and goats, animals sacred to the goddess of love, were hunted in the circus.

Vertumnus (or Vortumnus), the "Changer" (*verto*), was the god who presided over the spring blossoms, the growing fruit in the summer, and the ripe fruit in the fall; and in the

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* Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII, 563 f. † *Metamorphoses*, V, 261 f.

fall the Vertumnalia were celebrated in his honor. He was conceived as a gardener with his lap full of fruits, a knife in his hand, and on his head a wreath. **Pomona,** his wife, was a garden nymph who went about, pruning knife in hand, finding pleasure only in her trees. Ovid * tells how she shut herself up in her garden and refused to listen to any lover. Vertumnus sought admission in many forms, for he had himself that very power of transformation which showed itself in the ripening fruits. As a reaper, an ox driver, a fisherman, a gallant soldier, he sought admission in vain; and when at last he made entrance in the form of an old woman with gray hair, he found Pomona deaf to all his expressions of love. Only when he assumed his own proper form, only when he showed his own youthful beauty, did she yield to his entreaties. Thereafter Vertumnus and Pomona were inseparable.

5. **Divinities of Rivers and Springs.**—The divinities of rivers and springs found a considerable place in Roman mythology. Their origin was traced, not to Neptune, but to Janus and his son Fons or Fontus. Every spring and river was the manifestation of a divine power (*numen*): groves, altars, even temples were consecrated on their banks; their waters were kept pure and used for the purification of other things; it was a difficult matter even to construct a bridge across a river without offending the divinity. In general the rivers were kindly old men, beings who had been kings over human cities in ancient time and who yet preserved the same nature, now that their homes were in river beds. Such a god was the *pater Tiberinus* to whom the Romans prayed.

On the other hand the divinities of springs and brooks were ordinarily young goddesses, nymphs of prophecy and song, of magic arts, and of healing. Among them **Juturna,**

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* *Metamorphoses*, XIV, 623 f.

nymph of healing, was accounted by far the most important. She was a queen among the water divinities, the wife of Janus,* or even beloved by Jupiter. The *lacus Juturnæ* in the Roman forum was the source of holy water for public and private rites of worship. Next in importance was **Egeria,** the fair nymph who accepted the love of King Numa in her grove near the Porta Capena of early Rome (in the *vallis Egeriæ*). From her spring at this point was fetched all the water used by the Vestal Virgins. Here at the bidding of Egeria, Numa is said to have built a bronze temple for the Camenæ, or Muses. Egeria was herself a nymph who inspired song and prophecy, and the Camenæ also were nymphs of inspired song. Their leader **Carmenta,** goddess of childbirth and of music, was the mother of Evander in Virgil's story. While some of these nymphs found a place in mythology, they were essentially spirits of the moist woods, more like the fauni than like the Greek nymphs.

6. **Abstract Divinities.**—That literalness of the Italic peoples, which stood in the way of any real mythology, appears in the worship of abstract qualities. As Venus stood for love, Vulcan for fire, Mercury for trade, so Health, Valor, Fidelity, Mercy, etc., were personified and worshiped. **Salus** (Health) was a Sabine goddess, worshiped by individuals in sickness or on a birthday, and by the Roman state at the beginning of the year. At length she was identified with Hygieia, the daughter of Asclepius. **Carna** also was a goddess of health in that she used a wand of white thorn to drive away the vampire spirits which sucked the blood of young infants, attacked women in childbirth, and in general destroyed the efficiency of the digestive organs. Among the gods who protected the state and society were many similar personifications. **Bellona,** the

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* See § 1, p. 247.

spirit of war, and **Pavor,** the spirit of flight in battle, also were worshiped by the Romans; **Honos** and **Virtus,** a youth with laurel crown and a fair maiden with richly decorated helmet, were often worshiped together; **Victoria** brought success to Roman arms, and **Pax** with her olive branch fostered the arts of peace. **Fides,** the spirit of integrity, symbolized by the right hand, and **Terminus,** the god who made the boundary line sacred, were connected with the worship of Jupiter. **Spes, Felicitas,** and **Libertas,** and such virtues as **Concordia, Clementia,** and **Pietas** were not mere abstractions; the Romans were so practical that they worshiped them as their gods and made them actual persons.

FIG. 81.—ROMAN COIN OF THE EMPIRE.

Fides Publica, in her right hand a cup, in her left a sheaf of wheat.

7. **The Beginnings of Rome.**—In the *Æneid* Virgil appealed to Roman patriotism by making the beginnings of Rome the subject of a great epic. It was through Æneas and Venus, his divine mother, that Rome was connected with the great body of Greek legend. At the fall of Troy the line of Priam came to an end, but the greatness of Priam's city was treated as only the forerunner of the greatness of that city which was to be founded by a collateral branch of the royal line of Troy. Venus was present when Troy was sacked to save her son Æneas and a considerable body of Trojans who followed him as their leader. The story of their wanderings to Thrace, Delos, and Crete, to Epirus, to Sicily, to Carthage, and finally to Italy, was in large measure developed before Virgil's time; it remained for Virgil to make it a monument to the Roman ideal character as revealed in Æneas. And with the coming of the Trojans to Italy the glory of Troy became the inspiration for the glory of Rome.

When ages before this time Saturn had been driven out

from Greece and had made his home in Italy, the Golden Age was the result of his wise rule over the rude people of the woods that he found on the future site of Rome. Picus, the son of Saturn, was named as the first king of Laurentum on the coast of Latium; Faunus came second; and at the time of Æneas's arrival his son Latinus was king. Latinus welcomed the aid of the Trojans in his war with Turnus, king of the Rutulians in Ardea; Æneas received the daughter of Latinus, Lavinia, in marriage, and with omens from the gods founded the city of Lavinium. Turnus, who had been betrothed to Lavinia, was overcome in a battle in which Latinus was killed, or rather translated to the gods as *Divus Pater Latiaris*. In another battle, in which the Rutulians had the aid of Mezentius, king of Cære, they were again defeated; and this time Æneas was translated to the gods as Jupiter Indiges. In Virgil's *Æneid* the story is made more complex in that the war between Latinus and Turnus is accredited to the schemes of Juno, while Æneas must seek the aid of Evander—an aged Greek who had come from Arcadia to the site of Rome—of his son Pallas, and through them of the Etruscan inhabitants of Cære. Pallas was slain by Turnus, and Mezentius by Æneas; and finally Turnus was slain in single combat by Æneas, who had the aid of his mother Venus. The marriage of Æneas and Lavinia and the founding of Lavinium were postponed, in this narrative, till the war had been brought to a successful issue.

Thirty years later came the founding of Alba Longa by Ascanius, Æneas's son. The omen of Æneas's destined land, the sow with its litter of thirty young, seems to refer to the league of thirty Latin cities with Alba Longa at their head. The Alban families in Rome gave a long list of kings who had ruled in their mother city, beginning with Silvius, who was borne by Lavinia soon after the translation of Æneas, and ending with the brothers Numitor and Amulius

—the good Numitor, father of Rhea Silvia, and the bad Amulius, who drove his brother from the throne and was himself driven out by Romulus and Remus. Finally, it was said, the victory of the three Horatii over the three Curiatii determined the supremacy of Rome, and the population of Alba Longa was transferred from the older city to the Cælian hill in Rome.

The chronicles of Rome began with the story of a time when Janus ruled as a king on the Janiculum, and Saturn on the slopes of the Capitoline granted men the blessings of the Golden Age. Then followed the first settlement on the Palatine hill under Evander (that is, Faunus) and his mother Carmenta. It was Evander who received Hercules as his guest and established the worship of Hercules after that hero had slain the wicked giant Cacus. The Palatine city was established considerably later by Romulus. The love of Mars for Rhea Silvia, daughter of the king of Alba Longa; the birth and desertion of her sons Romulus and Remus; the suckling of the twins by a she-wolf under a fig tree on the Palatine; their discovery and bringing up by Faustulus, the herdsman of the Alban king; and the recognition of their royal ancestry, constitute the familiar story of the divine origin of Rome's founder. It is said that Romulus chose the Palatine for the new city which they were to found; Remus, the Aventine. Omens of birds favored the Palatine; and when Remus showed his resentment at the decision by jumping in derision over the low walls built by Romulus, he was killed by his brother. The asylum for escaped criminals, which Romulus established, brought men to the new city; the rape of Sabine women during a festival in the valley below (later the Roman forum) secured them wives; and the new city grew rapidly. At length after leading his people to success in many wars Romulus died and was transferred to heaven in the chariot of his father Mars to become himself the war god Quirinus.

PART II

MYTHS OF HEROES

CHAPTER X

MYTHS OF LOCAL HEROES

I.—MYTHS OF ARGOS

"The city of Danaos and of his fifty bright-throned daughters, Argos, the home of Hera, meet abode of the gods, sing Graces! for by excellencies innumerable it is made glorious in the deeds of valiant men. Long is the tale of Perseus, that telleth of the Gorgon Medusa: many are the cities in Egypt founded by the hands of Epaphos: neither went Hypermnestra's choice astray when she kept sheathed her solitary sword. . . . Moreover, in women of beautiful hair did the land excel. Thereto in days of old, Zeus testified, when he followed after Alkmene and after Danaë."—*Pindar*, Nemean Odes, X (trans. E. Myers).

1. **The Antecedents of Io.**—The myths of Argos group themselves about the names of Io, of Danaüs and his descendants, of Danaë and Perseus. The intermediate links are less clearly defined, while the beginning of Argive story is told in several different ways. According to local legend followed by Hesiod, Io was the daughter of Peiren. A comparison with the Corinthian spring nymph Peirene, and with similar names elsewhere, suggests that this unknown hero was a water divinity; possibly it was another name for the river god Inachus. Other writers, including Æschylus, state that Io was the daughter of Inachus, a god often placed at the head of this genealogy. This river of Argos, the main source of the fertility of the soil, was regarded as the first king of the country. It was he who decided the strife between Hera and Poseidon, making

Hera the patron goddess of Argos, in return for which Poseidon is said to have made the river Inachus dry in summer. Inachus, in the completed genealogy, was the son of Oceanus and Tethys, of the sea and mother earth.

Two sons are attributed to Inachus and the ocean nymph Melia, Ægialeus, the name for the southern shore of the Corinthian gulf, and Phoroneus, a name which may mean fruitful (cf. *ferax*). Phoroneus was held by the Peloponnesians to have been the first man. He is said to have introduced the worship of Hera into Argos; further, the benefactions of Prometheus—the gift of fire and the knowledge of the conventions on which society is based—are assigned to him by local tradition. Between Phoroneus and Io later writers insert several generations of kings. The only name which appears in story is that of Argus Panoptes, the all-seeing herdsman to whom Hera assigned the guardianship of Io. Even in his case the position among Io's ancestors does not suit the earlier form of the myth.

2. **The Wanderings of Io.**—The story of the wanderings of Io is the earliest myth of Argos which found general recognition. From the standpoint of worship Io is regarded as the first priestess of Hera in the principal Argive shrine. Zeus yielded to her charms, rousing thereby the jealousy of Hera, who turned her into a heifer; or, as Hesiod tells the story with a vein of comedy, Zeus turned her into a heifer to allay his wife's jealousy! In her new form Io was pastured in Hera's grove, guarded by the herdsman Argus Panoptes. His love yet unsatisfied, Zeus sent Hermes to slay him, a task rendered difficult because Argus was covered with eyes, with some of which he could sleep while he remained awake with others. From his success in performing this task Hermes is said to have gained the epithet of "Argus slayer." Thereupon Hera sent a gad-fly (as Æschylus says, the shade of Argus) to persecute Io. Driven by the sting of this creature, without

opportunity to sleep or to take food, Io wandered all over the known world. All the Greek powers of geographical imagination were exercised in the story of these wanderings, nor was the story told twice alike. That the Ionian sea was named for Io, that first the Thracian then the Cimmerian and the Indian Bosporus (cow-crossing) were named from this heifer who swam across them, and that the wanderings ended in Egypt, was generally agreed. In Egypt, Io was restored to human form and gave birth to Epaphus, for she had felt the touch of Zeus. It was this Epaphus (Touch) who became the ancestor of Danaüs and Ægyptus in one line, of Cadmus and Europa in another.

Fig. 82.—Wall Painting from the House of Livia on the Palatine Hill, Rome.

Io is seated at the base of a pillar, watched by Argus; at the left Hermes is coming to fulfill the command of Zeus.

The story of Io was popular in Greece partly because it furnished one element in the epic picture of the jealous Hera, partly because it gave such opportunity for the account of distant peoples and lands. In all these accounts the primal position of Greece was emphasized. The population both of Phœnicia and of Egypt was descended from Io through Epaphus; most of the other places visited by Io

were as yet without inhabitants since the human race had not yet extended thither from Greece. The story lays special emphasis on the connection of Greece with Egypt and Phœnicia. It was this phase of the story which impressed Herodotus and was transformed to serve as an introduction to his histories. Io was made a daughter of the king of Argos, carried off by Phœnician traders who sold her as a slave in Egypt. The rape of Europa and Medea and the carrying off of Helen to Troy were added to the story of Io as explaining the antecedents of the Trojan war.

Even in antiquity the story of Io was explained on the supposition that Io was the moon wandering in the heavens, and Argus Panoptes the starry sky—the sky covered with eyes of light. Such a comparison was thought to explain not only the wanderings of Io, but also her horns; for the new moon is horned. Rejecting this explanation, some modern writers regard Io as the purple tints in the sky at sunrise and sunset, and Argus as a being who looks only two ways, toward the past day and toward the new day. Against such theories it is safer to note first that the cow is the sacred animal of Hera—a plausible explanation why Io was transformed into a cow; and secondly, that the epithet *Argeiphontes*, whatever it may have meant originally, was understood to mean "Argus slayer," a misunderstanding which probably suggested the story that Hermes slew Argus.

Io. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 588 f.; 724 f.; Milton, *Il Penseroso*, 67–70.

Argus. Pope, *Dunciad*, IV, 637:

> "As Argus' eyes by Hermes' wand opprest
> Clos'd one by one to everlasting rest."

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, iv, 17:

> "And full of Argus eyes their tayles dispredden wide."

3. Danaüs and Prœtus.—After several generations Danaüs, for whom the Greeks were called Danaoi, and his brother Ægyptus again bring the line of Io into connection with Argos. The fifty sons of Ægyptus desired the fifty daughters of Danaüs in marriage, but their suit was unsuccessful. To escape these too ardent lovers, Danaüs and his daughters sailed from Egypt for Argos, stopped at Lindus to dedicate a statue to Athena, and as suppliants sought the protection of the Argive people. When at length the sons of Ægyptus appeared to press their suit in Argos, Danaüs plotted their destruction. He assented to the marriage of his daughters, but supplied them with daggers with which to slay their husbands on the wedding night. Thus perished all the sons of Ægyptus except Lynceus, whose modest bearing had won him the love of his bride Hypermnestra. The latter was finally pardoned by her father for failing to obey him, the other sisters were purified by order of Zeus, and athletic games were instituted at which their new suitors might prove their valor; or, according to another version of the story, they were punished in Hades by being obliged to pour into a bottomless jar water which they had brought in broken vessels. It has been suggested that the daughters of Danaüs were originally water nymphs who presided over marriage. In accordance with an oracle from the gods, Gelanor, king of Argos, abdicated in favor of Lynceus (or his father Danaüs), and the line of Io was placed on the throne of Argos.

The two grandsons of Lynceus next appear in the myth. Acrisius and Prœtus were twins who had quarreled from their earliest days. Prœtus, driven from the country, went to Lycia where he married the daughter of the king of the land. Her name is given by Homer as Anteia, and by later writers as Sthenebœa. With the aid of a Lycian army he obtained the stronghold of Tiryns, while

his brother retained Argos. Through an act of impiety the daughters of Prœtus became insane, wandering about the country only partially clad. The power of the Pylian seer Melampus was invoked in their behalf; but when he asked for a third of the kingdom as his reward, his aid was refused. At length, however, matters became so bad that Prœtus was ready to give one-third of the kingdom to Melampus and another third to his brother Bias in order to accomplish the healing of his daughters. According to one story their crime had consisted in speaking scornfully of the rude image and simple rites of Hera; the atonement for this consisted in a liturgy to Hera and purification by the prophet. Again it was said that the maidens had refused to accept the new worship of Bacchus; approaching them at the head of a band of young men in Bacchic revelry, Melampus healed them. The family of Melampus gained importance only in the person of the seer Amphiaraüs, five generations later, who took part in the expedition against Thebes. As for Prœtus, his wife appears in the story of Bellerophon;* but his family has no important place later in myth.

FIG. 83.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING (first half of the fifth century B.C.).

Danaë, reclining on a couch, receives a stream of gold from the sky.

Danaïds. Ovid, *Heroides*, VIII, 24; Horace, *Odes*, III, xi, 23; Virgil; *Æneid*, X, 497.

* See under ii, § 3, page 271.

4. **Danaë and Perseus.**—Acrisius, the brother of Prœtus, is known in myth as the father of Danaë and the grandfather of Perseus. On consulting the oracle as to his childlessness, Acrisius was informed that he would have a daughter, at the hands of whose son he would lose his life. Accordingly he shut up Danaë in a chamber of brass underground, thinking to outwit the will of the gods. The charms of Danaë did not escape the eye of Zeus, who visited her in a shower of gold (golden sunlight?). When Acrisius found that his precautions had proved fruitless, he shut up Danaë and Perseus her infant son in a chest, which he committed to the waves. To this myth we owe those most beautiful lines of Simonides:

FIG. 84.—VASE PAINTING ON THE REVERSE OF THE SAME VASE (FIG. 83).

A servant is shutting up Danaë and the infant Perseus in the chest at the command of King Acrisius (on the right).

"When, in the carven chest,
The winds that blew and waves in wild unrest
Smote her with fear, she, not with cheeks unwet,
Her arms of love round Perseus set,
And said: 'O child, what grief is mine!
But thou dost slumber, and thy baby breast
Is sunk in rest,
Here in the cheerless brass-bound bark,
Tossed amid starless night and pitchy dark.
Nor dost thou heed the scudding brine
Of waves that wash above thy curls so deep,
Nor the shrill winds that sweep,—
Lapped in thy purple robe's embrace,
Fair little face!

But if this dread were dreadful too to thee,
Then wouldst thou lend thy listening ear to me;
Therefore I cry,—Sleep, babe, and sea, be still,
And slumber our unmeasured ill!
Oh, may some change of fate, sire Zeus, from thee
Descend, our woes to end!
But if this prayer, too overbold, offend
Thy justice, yet be merciful to me.'"*

The chest with its precious freight was cast ashore, we are told, on the barren isle of Seriphos, where Dictys rescued mother and son.

When Perseus had grown to manhood, Polydectes, the king of the land, sent him after the Gorgon's head, thinking to get him out of the way that he might win Danaë for his bride. With the help of Athena and Hermes, Perseus accomplished his task. It was necessary for him first to visit the Grææ, daughters of Phorcys and Ceto, three sisters who, it seems, stand for the terrors of the sea. Their names are Enyo, Pephredo, and Deino—Terror, Shuddering, and Awfulness; they were born with gray hair and possessed but one eye and one tooth among them; their home was in the land beyond the sunset. Perseus, gaining possession of the eye and the tooth, obtained from the Grææ (or through their aid from the nymphs of the western sea) the means of performing his exploit successfully—the winged sandals, bearing the wearer over land and sea; the wallet or knapsack for that awful head; and the cap of Hades, which would make him invisible. Hermes gave him a curved sword with which to cut off Medusa's head, and his preparations were complete.

The Gorgons were spirits of Erebus, not unlike the Grææ. They too were winged, the locks of their hair were living serpents, their aspect was so awful that one look at

* J. A. Symonds's translation.

their faces was enough to turn a man to stone. Stheno (Might) and Euryale (the Wide Flowing Sea) were immortal; Medusa alone might die. Following the instructions Athena had given, Perseus waited till they were asleep; then, looking at their image as reflected in his polished shield, he struck off the head of Medusa and placed it in his wallet.

FIG. 85.—VASE PAINTING IN BLACK AND WHITE ON A RED SURFACE (Corinthian amphora of the sixth century B. C.).

Before the sea-monster (κῆτος) stands Perseus, the head of Medusa in the bag on his arm, swinging stones in each hand; in front of him is a pile of stones; at the right stands Andromeda watching the contest.

From the blood that gushed forth out of her neck were born Chrysaor and Pegasus, the horse of Bellerophon. Even his winged sandals would not have saved Perseus from the vengeance of the two other Gorgons, had not the cap of Hades rendered him invisible. Returning to Seriphos in time to save his mother, he turned to stone the wicked Polydectes and his companions by means of Medusa's head. The Gorgon's head was then dedicated to Athena, who placed it on her ægis; the winged sandals, wallet,

etc., were given to Hermes (or returned to their original possessors).

The story of Andromeda belongs with the account of Perseus's return from this expedition. Cassiopeia, wife of the king of Ethiopia, had boasted that she was more beautiful than the Nereïd nymphs. In anger Poseidon devastated the land with a flood and sent a monster from the ocean, which consumed man and beast alike. On consulting the oracle of Ammon the king was informed that he must bind his daughter Andromeda to a rock and leave her to the mercy of the monster in order to save his land. This had just been done when Perseus came on the scene, on his way back from the home of the Gorgons. The helpless maiden excited his pity and his love. Slaying the monster that threatened her, he set her free and made her his bride. Phineus, to whom she had been engaged, attempted to break up the wedding feast, only to be turned to stone by the Gorgon's head.

The next scene in the story of Perseus is laid at Argos. Returning thither from exile with his wife and his mother, he is a source of terror to Acrisius. Either in Argos or, as others say, in Thessaly he persuades his grandfather that he has no hostile purpose toward him. The fear of Acrisius is allayed; by a careless throw of the quoit, however, Perseus accidentally hits Acrisius, with fatal results. Thus at length the oracle is fulfilled. Perseus is so overcome with grief at this accident that he abandons the country. At length he succeeds in making an exchange with the son of his great uncle Prœtus, taking Tiryns as his domain and giving up his claims to Argos. Mycene is said to have been founded from Tiryns by Perseus, though earlier accounts speak of one Mycene or Myceneus, a nymph or hero to whom the city owes its existence.

Danaë. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 611 f.; Pope, *Thebais*, I, 357:

"Though there the brazen tower was storm'd of old,
When Jove descended in almighty gold."

Tennyson, *Princess*, vii, 167:

"Now lies the Earth all Danaë to the stars,
And all thy heart lies open unto me."

Perseus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 618 f.; Pope, *Temple of Fame*, 80:

"And Perseus dreadful with Minerva's shield."

William Morris, *The Doom of King Acrisius* (*Earthly Paradise*); Charles Kingsley, *Andromeda*; L. Morris, *Andromeda* (*Epic of Hades*).

Gorgons. Milton, *Comus*, 447:

"What was that snaky-headed Gorgon shield,
That wise Minerva wore, unconquer'd virgin,
Wherewith she freez'd her foes to congeal'd stone,
But rigid looks of chaste austerity . . ."

Shelley, *On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci in the Florentine Gallery*:

"Upon its lips and eyelids seems to lie
Loveliness like a shadow, from which shine,
Fiery and lurid, struggling underneath,
The agonies of anguish and of death.

Yet it is less the horror than the grace
Which turns the gazer's spirit into stone . . ."

L. Morris, *Medusa* (*Epic of Hades*).

5. **The Birth of Heracles.**—Each of the three sons of Perseus finds a place in the next stage of the myth. Alcæus is father of Amphitryon, the husband of Alcmene; Electryon is father of Alcmene, Heracles's mother; Sthenelus is father of the Eurystheus who imposed on Heracles his labors. Amphitryon was obliged to leave the country because he had killed the father of his promised bride, either by accident, or, as others say, in a quarrel over some cattle. The brothers of Alcmene were killed by a pirate

band of Taphians (and Teleboeans). Alcmene was willing to marry Amphitryon only on condition that he should execute vengeance on these people; accordingly he obtained troops from Thebes and set out for Acarnania. The king of the Taphians, Pterelaüs, had received from Poseidon a golden lock which rendered him immortal. His daughter, however, knew the secret; and, moved by love of the invading stranger, she betrayed her father into his power by cutting off this lock. Victorious in his campaign, Amphitryon returned to Thebes to claim his wife. In the meantime Zeus had yielded to the charms of Alcmene, so that she bore twin sons—Heracles, the son of Zeus, and his less known brother Iphicles, the son of Amphitryon.

Homer * tells how Zeus, inspired by Ate (Mischief), boasted among the assembled gods that on that day a man should be born, mightiest of his descendants, who should rule his neighbors. Hera saw her opportunity to deceive him. After getting from him a great oath that he would stand by his words, she persuaded the goddesses of childbirth to delay the birth of Heracles and hasten that of Eurystheus. So Eurystheus became the "ruler of his neighbors," as Zeus had said, with power even over the favorite son of Zeus. In this way the Greeks explained the fact that one so honored by the gods as Heracles should be involved in so many all but impossible "labors" by the caprice of his uncle. The rest of the story of Heracles does not belong peculiarly to Argos, though other parts of it did center here; it forms so complex a myth with elements from many sources that it must be considered by itself.

II.—MYTHS OF CORINTH

1. Sisyphus. — According to the Greek mythologist Apollodorus, Sisyphus, the first king of Corinth, was the son of Æolus, who reigned in Thessaly. The descendants

* *Iliad*, XIX, 101 f.

of Æolus played a large part in heroic legend, particularly in the story of the Argonauts and the story of Troy. The significance of this connection of Sisyphus with Æolus is that it points to Thessaly as the original center of Greek culture. Æolus is the son of Hellen (common ancestor of all the Hellenes or Greeks), who was the son of Deucalion, the son of Prometheus.* While most other lines of heroes are traced to local deities with whose children the Olympian gods intermarry, the line of Æolus goes back to a Titan Prometheus who antedated the Olympian gods.

Sisyphus himself is known to us as the benefactor of Corinth, and as the very exemplification of cunning. The name Sisyphus probably means "shrewd" or "wise" (a reduplicated form of the root which appears in σοφός); the reputation of Corinth, which gave it a king of this character, is no doubt to be explained by the city's importance from the earliest days as a center of commerce. When Zeus carried off the nymph Ægina, the daughter of the river god Asopus, it was Sisyphus who told the father what had become of her, on the promise that he would grant to Corinth a spring on top of the acropolis (Acrocorinth). This spring, sometimes called Peirene, was of great importance to Corinth as it made it possible for her acropolis to stand a siege. Angry at being betrayed, Zeus sent Death to carry off Sisyphus. Sisyphus, however, captured Death and bound him; nor could anyone die until Ares had set Death free to perform his proper function. As soon as Death was free, he caused Sisyphus to die; but first Sisyphus had arranged with his wife Merope to offer none of the sacrifices usually offered to Hades and Persephone. Then finding these rulers angry at being defrauded, he persuaded them to let him go back to Corinth and set the matter right. Naturally he stayed in the upper world in-

* Cf. Chap. II, p. 80.

stead of returning. It is said that he lived to a ripe old age; but when at length he died, he was selected to suffer a peculiar punishment. It was his task always to roll a huge stone up a hill; just as he got it to the top the "shameless stone," too cunning for him, would slip out of his hands and roll back. At first the story of Sisyphus was independent of the story of Medea; later they were connected by making Sisyphus the successor of Medea on the throne.

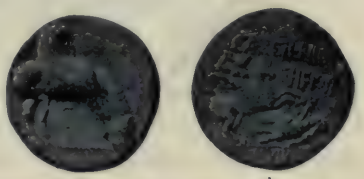
Sisyphus. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, v, 35; Pope, *Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day*, 66; Bulwer, *Death and Sisyphus*; L. Morris, *Sisyphus (Epic of Hades)*.

2. **Glaucus,** the father of Bellerophon, is known sometimes as the son of Sisyphus, sometimes as the son of Poseidon. At the Isthmian games this Glaucus was the spirit who sometimes frightened the horses while racing. Perhaps this gave rise to the story that, as king of Corinth, he had some swift horses from Potniæ, which he fed on human flesh; these he was accustomed to drive in races until one day they became crazy and devoured their master. This "miracle" was easily explained by Greek interpreters of myth by saying that he was so devoted to horse racing that it devoured all his patrimony. The name Glaucus, so common in Greek mythology, was thought to be derived from the color of Poseidon's eyes, which were gray like the sea. The son of Sisyphus was often confused with the sea god Glaucus, in which case his apotheosis was explained by a leap into the sea.

3. **Bellerophon.**—The most important figure of this line was Bellerophon. Bellerophon was sometimes regarded as himself the son of Poseidon, though Glaucus is ordinarily given as his father. The story of Bellerophon is told in the *Iliad* * by his grandson, another Glaucus, as follows:

* VI, 155 f.

"To him (Bellerophon) the gods granted beauty and lovely manhood; but Proitos in his heart devised ill for him, and being mightier far drave him from the land of the Argives, whom Zeus had made subject to his scepter. Now Proitos' wife, goodly Anteia, lusted after him, to have converse in secret love, but no whit prevailed she, for the uprightness of his heart, on wise Bellerophon. Then spake she lyingly to king Proitos: "Die, Proitos, or else slay Bellerophon, that would have converse in love with me against thy will." So spake she, and anger gat hold upon the king at that he heard. To slay him he forbare, for his soul had shame of that; but he sent him to Lykia, and gave him tokens of woe, graving in a folded tablet many deadly things, and bade him shew these to Anteia's father, that he might be slain. So fared he to Lykia by the blameless convoy of the gods. Now when he came to Lykia and the stream of Xanthos, then did the king of Lykia honor him with all his heart; nine days he entertained him and slew nine oxen. And when on the tenth day rosy-fingered dawn appeared, then he questioned him and asked to see what token he bare from his son-in-law, even Proitos. Now when he had received of him Proitos' evil token, first he bade him slay Chimaira the unconquerable. Of divine birth was she and not of men, in front a lion, and behind a serpent, and in the midst a goat; and she breathed dread fierceness of blazing fire. And her he slew, obedient to the signs of heaven. Next fought he with the famed Solymi; this, said he, was the mightiest battle of warriors wherein he entered. And thirdly he slew the Amazons, women peers of men. And as he turned back therefrom, the king devised another cunning wile; he picked from wide Lykia the bravest men, and set an ambush. But these returned nowise home again; for noble Bellerophon slew them all. So when the king now knew that he was the brave offspring of a god, he kept him there, and plighted him his daughter, and gave him the half of all the honor of his kingdom; moreover the Lykians meted



a. *b.*

FIG. 86.—COINS OF CORINTH (third century B.C.). *a.* Pegasus drinking. *b.* Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus, is slaying the Chimæra.

him a domain preëminent above all, fair with vineyards and tilth to possess it. And his wife bare Bellerophon three children, Isandros and Hippolochos and Laodameia. . . . But when even Bellerophon came to be hated of all the gods, then wandered he alone in the Aleian plain, devouring his own soul, and avoiding the paths of men. . . ."

The only important deviation from this story after Homer is the addition of the figure of Pegasus, that winged horse which sprang from the neck of Medusa when Perseus cut off her head. Pegasus became so important in Corinth that he was figured on all the earlier Corinthian coins as the characteristic emblem of the city. It was by means of this horse, according to the later form of the story, that Bellerophon was successful in the different labors assigned him by Prœtus. He captured Pegasus through the aid of Athena, while the horse was drinking at the Corinthian spring of Peirene, and secured him by means of a bit obtained from Athena. Hippocrene, the fountain of the Muses on Mt. Helicon, was opened by a kick of his hoof. The Chimæra Bellerophon could slay by descending on it from above, as he rode on Pegasus; while the fiery breath of the winged horse helped to scatter the Solymi and other warriors against whom he was sent. Perhaps the story of his vengeance on Anteia (or Sthenebœa, as she was called in the later form of the myth) was invented by Euripides. We are told that he went back from Lycia to Tiryns, persuaded Sthenebœa to flee with him on Pegasus, then threw her off while they were over the sea. A story of his death also was associated with this same horse. Elated over his successes he tried to mount to heaven itself on Pegasus. Either because he became dizzy at the great height, or because Zeus smote him with a thunderbolt to punish his presumption, he fell from the horse and was killed, while Pegasus, himself immortal, went on to the gods.

Pegasus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 786; Horace, *Odes*, IV, xi, 27; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, ix, 21; Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, pt. i, IV, i, 109:

> "To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus
> And witch the world with noble horsemanship."

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII, 4; Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, I, 150; Schiller, *Pegasus im Joche* (translated by Bowring).

Chimæra. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 647; Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 288.

Bellerophon. Young, *Night Thoughts*, II; J. S. Blackie, *Bellerophon*; W. Morris, *Earthly Paradise*; G. Meredith, *Bellerophon*.

Hippocrene. Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale*, II.

III.—MYTHS OF ARCADIA, LACONIA, AND MESSENE

1. **Arcadia.**—In Arcadia two quite independent stories are told as to the origin of the inhabitants: the story of Pelasgus, and the story of Arcas, son of Callisto. The latter story traces their origin from Zeus, the former from an earth-born man. For Pelasgus sprang from the earth in the forests that surround the shrine of Lycæan Zeus; it is only an Argive chronicler who makes him grandson of Phoroneus, the head of the Argive race. Of Pelasgus little is told except that he had a son Lycaon. Both Lycaon and the fifty sons who were born to him were an example to later ages of savage fierceness and impiety. As Ovid tells the story, Zeus decided to find out about them for himself. Assuming the form of a man he sought entertainment from Lycaon. The king, questioning the power of Zeus, decided to test it by offering him a banquet of human flesh, whereupon Zeus overturned the table and made Lycaon into a wolf. At the shrine of Zeus on Mt. Lycæus human sacrifice seems to have been actually practiced; whoever, it was said, tasted the human flesh was transformed like Lycaon into a wolf. However the story

was told, Lycaon, its central figure, was connected with the Zeus who was worshiped on Mt. Lycæus; further, the sons of Lycaon gave their names to the different Arcadian towns.

The story of Callisto and Arcas is essentially independent of Lycaon. Arcas, the ancestor who gave the people their name of Arcadians, was the child of Callisto by Zeus. Callisto, the "Most Beautiful," was once perhaps herself a goddess who loved the wild forests and fastnesses of Arcadia. In myth she is an attendant of Artemis; and since Artemis demanded chastity of her nymphs, Callisto's love for Zeus brought her condign punishment. In its developed form the story runs as follows: Hera turned Callisto into a bear when her connection with Zeus was discovered; the dogs who had hunted with her now turned against her, and Artemis slew her with an arrow. Zeus, however, saved his unborn child and placed the mother as a constellation in the heavens. The still jealous Hera did not permit the Great Bear to sink below the horizon, but restlessly it must ever revolve about the pole.

To Arcas the Arcadians assigned the rôle which other peoples allotted to Prometheus or Triptolemus. The arts of agriculture, of bread-making, of spinning and weaving, he taught to his people. Of his three sons one is said to have ruled northern Arcadia; another, the region of Tegea; the third, the southern part of the land. Tegea itself was founded by his grandson Aleus, who established there the worship of Athena Alea. Aleus in turn had three children, Lycurgus, Cepheus, and Auge. His daughter Auge was seduced by Heracles. When her father learned of the fact, he exposed her son on the mountains and sold the mother into slavery in Asia Minor. There she met with happier days, when Teuthras, king of Mysia, made her his queen. Her son Telephus also was miraculously preserved by a doe, which fed him till he was found by shepherds who brought

him up. On arriving at manhood he was told by the oracle to seek his parents in Mysia. Here he was adopted by his step-father, Teuthras. Telephus appears in the legend of the Trojan war first as a leader against the Greeks, then as guiding the Greeks to Troy. The story of his wound at the hands of Achilles, of the oracle that he could be healed only by the man who had wounded him, and of the Heraclean manner in which he boldly demanded this help by threatening to kill Orestes, the infant son of Agamemnon, was popular with Attic poets and vase painters.

The children of Cepheus and Lycurgus appear in the story of the Argonauts and of the Trojan war. Atalante, of Ætolian fame, was the granddaughter of Lycurgus. Echemus, grandson of Cepheus, and the national hero of the Tegeans, placed himself at the head of the Peloponnesian hosts, when the sons of Heracles invaded the land. Chosen to represent his country in single combat with Hyllus, he slew his opponent and thus kept the Dorians from the Peloponnesus for three generations in accordance with the compact made between the two armies. It was this deed of their ancestor which led the Tegeans to dispute with the Athenians the right to a post of honor at the battle of Platæa.

Lycaon. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 198 f.; Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 138.
Callisto. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 468; Milton, *Il Penseroso*, 87; Ibid., *Comus*, 341.

2. **Laconia, Helen.**—Both in Laconia and in Messenia local myth starts with one Lelex, a man born of the soil; in both genealogies the local nymph, Sparta or Messene, has a place; later in both lists is one Pieres, father of Tyndareus and reputed grandfather of Castor and Polydeuces in Laconia, father of Aphareus and grandfather of Idas and Lynceus in Messenia. In the Spartan genealogy one finds also the names of Eurotas (the river of the Spartan

valley), of Taÿgete (nymph of the mountain above Sparta), of Lacedæmon the hero from whom the country was named, of Amyclæ (named from the older city near Sparta), and of Hyacinthus who was worshiped with Apollo at Amyclæ. In local story this Hyacinthus was a beautiful youth whom

FIG. 87.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING, NOW IN VIENNA (fifth century B.C.). In the center an egg rests on an altar by a laurel tree; on the right Tyndareus and Leda, on the left Castor and Pollux look at the egg with astonishment.

Apollo loved and made his companion. One day when they were engaging together in athletic sports, Apollo accidentally killed him by a careless throw of the discus. The flower turned purple by his blood has been known ever since as the hyacinth. The grave of the youth was shown in the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ; in the festival held each year in his honor the first days were spent in mourning his death; but, like other gods who stand for vegetation, Hyacinth came to life again each year, and the festival ended with wild expression of joy.

The story of Helen underlies the myth of the Trojan war; still Helen remains distinctly a figure of Lacedæmonian legend. The account of Menelaüs's queen in the *Odyssey*

is far more in line with the Helen of local legend than the account of the wife of Paris in the *Iliad*. But Helen is always the favorite of Aphrodite; in the story of Helen her beauty, her power to charm men's hearts, even her light regard for the marriage tie as over against the passion of love, express the nature of Aphrodite herself. Nominally Helen, Polydeuces, Castor, and Clytemnestra were the children of Tyndareus by Leda, the daughter of a king of Calydon. Icarius, the father of Penelope, Leucippus, father of Hilaria and Phœbe, and Aphareus, the father of Lynceus and Idas, were the other members of the family of Pieres. Helen, however, was often spoken of as the daughter of Zeus by Leda or Nemesis. Nemesis, it is said, avoided the wooing of Zeus, and fled over land and sea till at length he approached her in the form of a swan. The result of their union was a marvelous egg, which was consigned to the care of Leda, Tyndareus's wife. Either from this egg or from Leda herself was born the woman whose superhuman beauty was to occasion such mischief in Greece. As the daughter of Zeus she was worshiped in some places along with her brothers Polydeuces and Castor. The women of this family stand out as types of what a wife may be. Penelope, the prudent, faithful wife keeps her household in order for twenty years till Odysseus returns; Clytemnestra yields to the persuasion of Ægisthus and slays her husband on his return from Troy; Helen occasions a Trojan war, but she makes a happy home for each of her successive husbands.

Helen's first adventure was with the Attic hero, Theseus. The two friends, Theseus and Peirithoüs, carried her off while she was engaged in a dance in honor of Artemis. They cast lots for her; and Theseus, who was successful, placed her in hiding while he joined his friend in an expedition to the underworld. Meantime Castor and Polydeuces ravaged the country of Attica, recovered Helen, and

carried back with her the mother of Theseus. The localities in Attica where Helen of Sparta had been hidden, as stated in this myth, were spared by the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war.

That Helen was carried off to Egypt also seems to be a part of early myth. Whether she was in this land with Paris or with Menelaüs, or what the circumstances were, cannot be clearly made out. Finally Helen was carried off by Paris, only to be rescued by Menelaüs at the capture of Troy and restored to Sparta as his queen. This story and the account of Clytemnestra belong with the myth of the Trojan war.

Leda. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 109; Spenser, *Prothalamium*, 41:

"Nor Jove himselfe, when he a Swan would be
For love of Leda, whiter did appeare."

Landor, *Loss of Memory*; Keats, *Endymion*, I, 157:

". . . lilies whiter still
Than Leda's love."

3. Castor and Polydeuces, Idas and Lynceus.—According to Pindar, Polydeuces was the son of Zeus, Castor the son of Tyndareus. When Castor was killed, Polydeuces was inconsolable till Zeus permitted both brothers to live among the immortals every other day, spending alternate days together in Hades. More commonly they were said to be both the sons of Zeus or both the sons of Tyndareus. Polydeuces excelled all men in boxing, Castor in the training of horses. They are the heroes representing Sparta in the Argonautic expedition and in the Calydonian boar hunt; we have seen that they rescued their sister Helen when Theseus carried her off to Attica.

The one distinctive myth of Castor and Polydeuces is the account of their conflict with Idas and Lynceus. Either

because the Tyndaridæ won as brides the daughters of Leucippus by offering larger presents than did the sons of Aphareus to whom they had been promised, or because the sons of the latter were unfair in refusing to divide the booty gained in a common expedition, strife broke out between the two pairs of brothers. Castor and Polydeuces hid themselves in a hollow oak in Messenia, intending to fall on their enemies as they returned home. But Idas (Seer) and

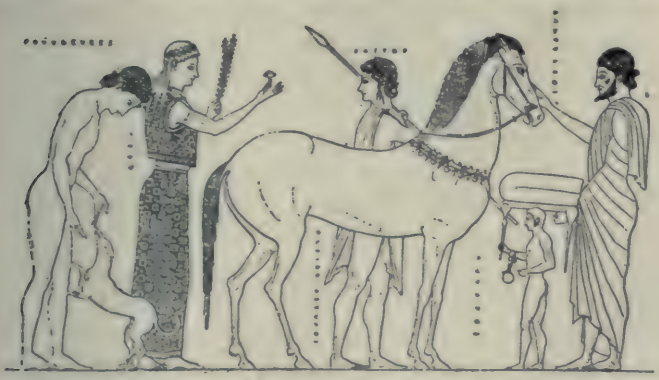


FIG. 88.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING BY EXEKIAS, NOW IN THE VATICAN (end of sixth century B.C.).

At the left Polydeuces is welcomed by his dog; Castor, behind his horse, turns back to look at Leda, who holds out a flower. At the right a small slave with oil flask and seat, and Tyndareus stroking the horse's head.

Lynceus (a Lynx in vision as in rapacity) had the power of seeing through wood and stone. Detecting the ambush from the top of Taÿgetus, they attacked the hidden pair before they could leave their position in the tree and slew Castor. Lynceus fell before Polydeuces's spear; Idas was struck down by a thunderbolt from Zeus; and Polydeuces was left alone.

Idas appears in story also as the rival of Apollo for the affection of Marpessa the daughter of Euenus. Idas carried her off in a winged car lent him by Poseidon; and

when Apollo stopped him, he proposed to fight with Apollo —a man with a god—to retain his bride Marpessa. The unequal contest was stopped by Zeus, who gave Marpessa her choice. Knowing Apollo's reputation as a lover of fair women she chose Idas, and he bore her triumphantly home.

In spite of minor differences the mythology of Messene followed the same lines as that of Laconia. The sons of Aphareus correspond to the sons of Tyndareus very closely. Both are forms of the Dioscuri, twin sons of Zeus, whom the Romans knew as Castor and Pollux. Their conflict is the mythical prototype of the subjugation of Messenia by Sparta. In the southern Peloponnesus and at many other points the Dioscuri were worshiped as protectors of youth, as beings that appeared on horseback to turn the tide of battle, and as guarding sailors. War dances were held in their honor, dances at which the heroes might appear in splendid array, just as the Dioscuri sometimes appeared at banquets spread in their honor by their worshipers. But their worship always centered in Laconia where they were born, and here the royal line claimed relationship with them.

The Romans did not regard the Dioscuri as Greek gods, probably because their worship was introduced into Rome from some neighboring community (Tusculum?), not directly from Greece. At the battle of Lake Regillus the dictator is said to have vowed that temple which was afterwards erected in the Roman forum, a temple of Castor, though shared by Pollux. The Romans worshiped the Twin Brethren as patrons of knighthood. Each year, crowned with twigs of olive, their armor covered with purple cloaks, the Roman knights made a procession on horseback to this temple, assisted in a sacrifice to the Dioscuri, and went on to pay honor to Jupiter on the Capitol.

Castor and Polydeuces. Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 700 f.; *Amores*, III, ii, 56; Macaulay, *The Battle of Lake Regillus*, ii.

Idas and Marpessa. Stephen Phillips, *Marpessa*.

IV.—MYTHS OF THEBES

1. Amphion and Zethus.—Argos and Thebes divide the honor of being the main centers of mythology in Greece. The family of Cadmus is only less important than the Argive line, of which, it is true, it forms a part: Heracles was born in Thebes, but of Argive stock; to Dionysus, however, one of the great gods of Greece, Thebes may lay claim; while in Argive story there is no parallel to the great sieges of Theban legend. In Thebes there are apparently two different sets of myths, the account of Amphion and Zethus, and the account of the family of Cadmus; the connection between the two was made only when it seemed necessary to reduce everything to one consistent story.

Amphion and Zethus were sons of Antiope by Zeus. Antiope is now called the daughter of the river god Asopus, now the daughter of Nycteus (Night) who was brother of Lycus (Light). According to the later and more developed account, Nycteus was very angry that his daughter had yielded to the solicitation of Zeus, so that she was obliged to seek refuge with the king of Sicyon. It was only after the death of Nycteus that Lycus succeeded in regaining control of Antiope. On their way back to Thebes she bore her twin sons in a mountain cave. The babes were exposed only to be rescued and brought up by shepherds. Meantime Antiope was treated with extreme cruelty by Lycus and his wife Dirce. When, one stormy night, she succeeded in escaping from Thebes, she was fortunate enough to find her sons on Mt. Cithæron—Amphion, a musician whose lute was the gift of Hermes; Zethus, a mighty hunter. It so happened that Dirce came to Cithæron to engage in Bacchic worship and there discovered the presence of Antiope. Bent on a terrible vengeance she ordered the shepherds to fasten Antiope to a wild bull that

she might be trampled to death. Just at this moment the identity of the sons was revealed by an old shepherd. Re-

FIG. 89.—THE SO-CALLED "TORO FARNESE," A MARBLE GROUP OF FIGURES LARGER THAN LIFE BY APOLLONIUS AND TAURISCUS (first century B. C.).

Dirce is being bound to a wild bull by Amphion and Zetheus; Antiope is a spectator in the background.

leasing Antiope they bound Dirce instead to the bull. At her death she was transformed into the wild stream which supplied Thebes with water.

In the course of time Amphion and Zethus became kings

of Thebes. Amphion's skill with the lute was so great that the very stones came as he played, and took their places in the rising walls of Thebes. This was the Amphion who married Niobe, daughter of Tantalus—Niobe whose children all were slain by Apollo and Artemis because their mother dared to claim that her family was larger and fairer than that of Leto. The wife of Zethus, Aëdon (Nightingale) by a fatal mistake killed her own son, Itylus. Zethus died of grief at this misfortune. Aëdon was transformed into a nightingale; and when men heard its plaintive note, they said it was Aëdon mourning for her son Itylus (Itys).

The story of Amphion and Zethus was connected with the line of Cadmus in several different ways. It was said that the walls they built were destroyed, and rebuilt by Cadmus; or again that Lycus and Nycteus deprived the infant Laius of the throne, which was restored to him after the death of Amphion and Zethus. In harmony with this second version of the story the walls of the lower town, in contrast with the Cadmeian citadel, were assigned to Amphion. The truth seems to be however that the two stories at first were quite independent.

Amphion. Horace, *Ars poetica*, 394 f.; Pope, *Temple of Fame*, 85:

> "Amphion there the loud creating lyre
> Strikes, and beholds a sudden Thebes aspire."

Tennyson, *Amphion*.

Niobe. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 146 f.; W. S. Landor, *Niobe*.

2. **Cadmus and Harmonia.**—With Cadmus one returns to the Argive line of Io and Epaphus. Agenor, grandson of Epaphus, became king of Phœnicia. When Zeus carried off his daughter Europa, he sent Cadmus and Cilix, her brothers, to search for her—a fruitless search from which they did not return. Cilix at length settled in Asia Minor in the country known as Cilicia; Cadmus, after visiting

Egypt, consulted the oracle at Delphi to obtain help in his search. Apollo bade him drop the search, follow a cow he would meet outside the shrine, and found a town where first the creature lay down. Thus it came about that a Phœnician (nominally of Greek descent) founded Thebes and named it for a city he had seen in Egypt.

FIG. 90.—RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING FOUND IN THE CRIMEA, AND NOW IN ST. PETERSBURG (probably Athenian workmanship in the first part of the fourth century B. C.).

In the foreground Cadmus (carrying two spears) is receiving the advice of Athena; at the right of Athena sits Harmonia (?), guarded by a serpent; the figures on either side are nymphs of the locality, and at the extreme right is Hermes with his wand (*caduceus*).

When the comrades of Cadmus went to draw water at the fountain Areia near by, they were slain by the dragon which guarded it. Protected by Athena, Cadmus slew the dragon and at the bidding of the goddess sowed its teeth in the ground. Immediately there sprang up men completely armed, threatening the lone wanderer; but when he threw some stones among them, they turned their weapons against each other till only five were left. These five, the Sparti (men sprung from the seed sown by Cadmus) became the ancestors of the aristocracy of Thebes, who continued to be known as Sparti. With their aid Cadmus founded his city. Ares, angry at the death of the dragon, would

have killed him had not Zeus intervened and quieted his wrath by sending Cadmus into exile for eight years. At the expiration of this period he received as a wife Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. All the gods came to this wedding to honor the founder of Thebes with their gifts. The wonderful necklace which Harmonia received from Aphrodite appears in a later period as a bane to its possessors.* To Harmonia alone did it bring blessing.

To Cadmus and Harmonia were born one son, Polydorus, and four daughters, Autonoë, Ino, Semele, and Agave. The fate of Ino will be told in connection with that of her husband Athamas. Semele's beauty attracted the attention of Zeus,† but the proud lot of being the mother of the god Dionysus did not bring her happiness. At the instance of jealous Hera she obtained from Zeus the promise of any boon she might ask, then she demanded a vision of the god in all his glory as he appeared to Hera herself. In the brightness of that supreme presence her mortal body was entirely consumed except that Zeus saved her unborn son and kept him—the twice-born Dionysus—in his own thigh till the day for his birth arrived.

On Autonoë also fortune smiled for a while. From her happy union with Aristæus sprang the noble youth Actæon —Actæon the favorite of Artemis, and her companion in the chase. But in some way he offended his patron divinity, either because he sought her hand in marriage, or by some mischance beheld her bathing in a secluded pool, or again because he boasted that he was superior in the hunt even to Artemis. Whatever the cause of her anger, she transformed him into a stag, and he was devoured by his own hounds.

The fourth daughter, Agave, married Echion, one of the Sparti; and their son Pentheus became king during the

* Cf. Eriphyle and Amphiaraüs, § 4, p. 291.

† Cf. Chapter VI, § 4, p. 183.

old age of Cadmus. It was during his reign that Dionysus* returned to Greece with a band of female attendants from the lands which had already acknowledged his divine power. The worship he demanded was in many points repugnant to the Greek sense of right and propriety; Pentheus refused to admit it into the city, in spite of the fact that Teiresias, the prophet, and the aged Cadmus recognized the rights of Dionysus as a god. The punishment of Pentheus is the subject of Euripides's *Bacchantes*. In that tragedy the poet brings out the short-sighted stubbornness with which Pentheus clung to the traditional ideas of right; he pictures the gradual way in which the influence of Bacchus takes away the king's clear judgment, leading him first to follow the train of the god and then to spy on their secret rites; and the tragedy culminates in that scene where a mother leads in putting to death her son and triumphantly carries him back to Thebes—a scene that illustrates the relentless, pitiless power with which a nature god punished opposition.

FIG. 91.—METOPE FROM A TEMPLE AT SELINUS IN SICILY (fifth century B. C.).
In the presence of Artemis Actæon is being devoured by the dogs of the goddess.

* Cf. Chapter VI, § 4, p. 185.

Now when all their daughters have met with one or another sad fate, Cadmus and Harmonia withdraw to Illyria, till at length Zeus transfers them to the Elysian fields. Polydorus alone remains, prosperous during his own life, leaving behind him a line destined to suffer many woes.

Cadmus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 1 f.; *Tristia*, IV, iii, 67; Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 688; Pope, *Thebais*, 8:

> "Europa's rape, Agenor's stern decree,
> And Cadmus searching round the spacious sea—
> How with the serpent's teeth he sow'd the soil,
> And reaped an iron harvest of his toil."

M. Arnold, *Empedocles on Etna*, Act I:

> ". . . Two bright and aged snakes,
> Who once were Cadmus and Harmonia,
> Back in the glens or on the warm sea shore,
> In breathless quiet after all their ills."

Semele Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 260 f.; E. R. Sill, *Semele*.

Autonoë, Actæon. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 131; Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, II, iii, 61; Ibid., *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III, ii, 44; Shelley, *Adonais*, 31; A. H. Clough, *Actæon*; *Century Magazine*, LXIII, pp. 379–382, J. Erskine, *Actæon*.

Agave, Pentheus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 511; Virgil, *Æneid*, IV, 469; *Culex*, 111; Landor, *The Last Fruit of an Old Tree*; B. W. Procter, *Bacchanalian Song*.

3. **Œdipus.**—Labdacus, the son of Polydorus, reigned prosperously; with his son Laïus began once more the woes of the race. According to the chroniclers who combine the story of Cadmus with that of Amphion and Zethus, it was when Laïus was an infant that Lycus and Nycteus usurped the throne, persecuted Antiope, and at length were succeeded by Amphion and Zethus, who built the walls of the lower city. When Laïus grew to manhood, however, he regained his rights and became king of the country. Al-

though warned by the oracle that if he married Jocaste her son would cause his death, he disregarded the oracle, with the intention of destroying any son who might be born to them. Accordingly, when a son was born, his ankles were pierced with thongs, and he was exposed on the mountains above Thebes. This son, however, was rescued by shepherds, taken to Corinth, and brought up there as the son of Polybus, king of Corinth. His name, Œdipus (Swollen-Foot), is said to refer to his ankles, which bore the marks of the thongs. When a young man, something aroused the suspicions of Œdipus and led him to inquire at Delphi as to his father and mother. No answer was vouchsafed on this point; instead, he was warned that it was his fate to kill his father and marry his mother. To avoid this fate he turned away from Corinth, resolved at all cost to avoid his (reputed) father and mother. The same high spirit that led to this quick decision yielded quickly to provocation when he passed an old man journeying toward Delphi with a few attendants. Blows were exchanged, and the old man (who eventually proved to be his father, Laïus) fell dead. Arriving at Thebes, Œdipus met the Sphinx, solved her riddle,* and freed the city of this bane. In gratitude

FIG. 92.—RED-FIGURED ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING FROM THE HAMILTON COLLECTION (fifth century B. C.).

Œdipus in the garb of a young warrior stands before the Sphinx, who is perched on a rock.

* "The riddle was as follows: What is it which, though it has one voice, becomes four-footed and two-footed and three-footed? . . . And

for this deed the citizens soon gave him the throne left vacant by the death of Laïus, and the wife of Laius also was given to his successor. Thus unwittingly Œdipus without delay fulfilled the oracle.

According to the earlier form of the story these facts soon came to light. In horror Jocaste (Epicaste) hanged herself. Œdipus then married Euryganeia, by whom he had four children; still he carefully shunned all the paraphernalia of royalty in penance for his awful crimes. The effort of his sons to get him to use the splendid table and golden cup of Cadmus brought from his unbalanced mind the curse that filled their lives with strife.

In its better-known form the story tells of years of prosperity, in which Œdipus lived as the husband of Jocaste. Two sons and two daughters were the offspring of this unhallowed marriage. Fate, long delayed, struck the heavier blow. A pestilence in Thebes led Œdipus to consult the oracle at Delphi. When word was brought that the murder of Laïus must be avenged, Œdipus first uttered violent imprecations on the murderer; then he hastily denounced the prophet who refused to reveal the murderer, charged Creon (the brother of Jocaste) with complicity in the crime, and treated Jocaste almost brutally in pushing his investigations recklessly forward. The same quick temper which led him to kill the lonely traveler that proved to be his father, which led him to suspect Teiresias, the aged prophet, and Creon and caused him to misunderstand his wife, now when the facts are made plain leads him to blind himself with pins taken from the garment of his wife

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Œdipus solved the riddle when he heard it, saying that the creature described by the Sphinx was man; for as an infant he is four-footed, creeping on hands and feet; in the prime of life he is two-footed; and in old age he uses a cane as a third foot. Thereupon the Sphinx cast herself over the cliff, and Œdipus married the queen of the country." —Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, III, v, 3 and 6.

already dead. His selfish quarreling sons bring on themselves the fulfillment of their father's curses. It is only in the tender care of his daughters that the blind old man finds comfort in his exile.

Œdipus. Pope, *Thebais*, I, 21:

> ". . . Œdipus—from his disasters trace
> The long confusion of his guilty race."

Ibid., 69: "Now wretched Œdipus, depriv'd of sight,
Led a long death in everlasting night."

Shelley, *Œdipus Tyrannus, or Swellfoot the Tyrant*; R. M. Milnes, *The Tomb of Laïus*; E. Fitzgerald, *The Downfall and Death of King Œdipus*; A. de Vere, *Antigone*; M. Arnold, *Fragment of an Antigone*; Tennyson, *Teiresias*; Swinburne, *Teiresias*; M. Arnold, *The Strayed Reveller*.

4. **The Seven Against Thebes.**—At first sharing together the rule of their native city, the sons of Œdipus quarreled: Eteocles drove out his brother Polyneices, who by right of birth had the better claim to the throne. Before the walls of Argos the suppliant Polyneices met another exile, Tydeus of Ætolia, and at once began quarreling with him as he had quarreled with his brother. It so chanced that Adrastus, king of Argos, had been told by the oracle to give his daughters in marriage to a lion and a boar. Accordingly when he found the violent Tydeus and the greedy Polyneices fighting outside his walls, the one with a lion as the sign on his shield, the other with a boar, he stopped the fight and gave them his daughters in marriage. He now determined to restore his sons-in-law to their rights in their respective homes.

For the expedition against Thebes the aid of the other Argive chiefs was easily secured, but Amphiaraüs the prophet, foreseeing failure, refused to join them. Only when Polyneices had bribed the wife of Amphiaraüs, Eri-

phyle, by the gift of that wondrous necklace which Harmonia had received from Aphrodite, was Amphiaraüs persuaded by his treacherous wife to join the other chiefs.

In the first conflict by the Ismenian hill the Thebans were defeated and withdrew behind their walls. Teiresias then informed the Thebans that they would drive off the invaders successfully only if one of their number voluntarily sacrificed himself to Ares. Menœceus, son of Creon, offered himself as the victim, and his blood shed by his own hand outside the gates became the pledge of divine aid to

FIG. 93.—EARLY CORINTHIAN VASE PAINTING IN DARK BROWN AND WHITE ON A YELLOW SURFACE (end of seventh century B.C.).

In the center Baton the charioteer is in the chariot before the palace; Amphiaraüs turns back, before mounting the chariot, to say adieu to his family, among whom Eriphyle with the necklace stands last.

the city. According to the drama of Æschylus each of the seven Argives led a simultaneous attack on the seven gates of Thebes, in which the Thebans routed their opponents, though Polyneices and Eteocles fell each by the other's hands. Or, as the story is sometimes told, the battle was to be decided by a single combat between Polyneices and Eteocles; when both fell the battle became general, and the Argives were put to flight with great loss. Adrastus got off safely, but Amphiaraüs was swallowed up by the earth to prevent his Theban opponent from slaying him, and most of the other Argive leaders lost their lives. Such was the expedition against Thebes, an expedition

celebrated in epic poetry as only second in importance to the expedition of Agamemnon against Troy.

Of the family of Œdipus, his daughters Antigone and Ismene were still living, and Creon was on the throne. After the Theban victory Creon made a proclamation that Eteocles, who fought for Thebes, should be buried with honor, while the rite of burial should be denied to Polyneices, who had fought with the Argives. Thus Antigone and Ismene found themselves caught between an upper and a nether millstone: the law of Creon, forbidding burial to their brother; and the ancient law of the family, a divine law, which made the rite of burial imperative. Antigone performed the ceremonial burial of her outcast brother, whereupon she was shut up by Creon in a mountain cave to starve. When Creon's son Hæmon, the lover of Antigone, could not dissuade his father from this cruel measure, he sought his promised bride, only to find her already dead. At her side he fell on his sword; on hearing the news of her son's death, Creon's wife hung herself; and again a self-willed king was left desolate.

Eteocles. Pope, *Thebais*, 219.

Amphiaraüs. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, III, i, 12.

5. **The Epigoni.**—Although driven back with such great loss, Adrastus still pursued his purpose of reducing Thebes to submission. The sons of the chiefs who had fallen in the first expedition joined him (the Epigoni, "descendants"); and all parts of the Peloponnesus, together with Corinth and Megara, rallied to his banner. Again the Thebans were beaten in battle outside the town. This time the aged Teiresias foresaw only failure for their efforts. Accordingly the anti-Argive party withdrew from Thebes; the town surrendered to Adrastus; and Thersander, son of Polyneices, was placed on the throne of Thebes. In this campaign the only serious loss was the death of Adras-

tus's own son, a loss which soon occasioned the death of his father from grief. Adrastus came to be worshiped as a hero in Argos and Sicyon after his death, as both Polyneices and Eteocles were worshiped near the city of Thebes. It is interesting to note that the source of Adrastus's power, according to this myth, was his eloquence rather than his prowess in battle. The success of his second campaign, as of his rule at home, was due to this power to win men to the support of his undertakings by his persuasive utterance.

The story of the Epigoni ends with the account of Alcmæon, son of Amphiaraüs and Eriphyle. His father knew that Eriphyle had been bribed to send her husband to Thebes, though it should cost his life; and on setting out for the expedition against Thebes, Amphiaraüs charged Alcmæon to slay his mother as the punishment for a wife's treachery. With the sanction of the oracle at Delphi, Alcmæon performed this mission. He was, however, haunted and crazed by the curses of his dead mother. On consulting the oracle again he received the response that he should dedicate to Apollo the necklace that was the price of Eriphyle's treachery, and seek refuge in a land on which the sun did not shine when he slew his mother. This land he found in an island recently formed at the mouth of the river Achelous. Here he gained rest from his mother's curses; here grew up the city of Œniadæ; while from Alcmæon sprang Acarnan, the eponym hero of Acarnania, and the father of the prophetic race of that land. Other stories are told of Alcmæon; but all connect him with Acarnania, and all trace the prophetic blood of that country through Alcmæon back to Amphiaraüs and eventually to the earlier seer, Melampus.

V.—MYTHS OF CRETE

1. The Rape of Europa.—The myths of Crete as of Thebes begin with the family of Agenor, the great-grandson of the Argive Io. Europa is sometimes called the daughter of Phœnix, more commonly the sister of Phœnix and the daughter of Agenor. Europa, according to the idyl of Moschus, had a dream to the effect that the two continents, Asia and Europe, in the form of mortal women, were contending for her person. Rising from sleep she joined her maiden companions as they gathered flowers along the shore. Here Zeus saw her and fell in love with her, but to avoid Hera's wrath he assumed the form of a bull.

"And he stood before the feet of fair Europa, and kept licking her neck, and cast his spell over the maiden. And she still caressed him, and gently with her hands she wiped away the deep foam from his lips, and kissed the bull. Then he lowed so gently, ye would think ye heard the Mygdonian flute uttering a dulcet sound.

FIG. 94.—ARCHAIC COIN OF GORTYNA IN CRETE.

Europa, riding over the sea on the back of a bull; in the sea below is a dolphin.

"He bowed himself before her feet, and, bending back his neck, he gazed on Europa, and showed her his broad back. Then she spake among her deep-tressed maidens, saying, 'Come, dear playmates, maidens of like age with me, let us mount the bull here and take our pastime, for truly, he will bear us on his back, and carry all of us! And how mild he is, and dear, and gentle to behold, and no whit like other bulls! A mind as honest as a man's possesses him, and he lacks nothing but speech.'

"So she spake, and smiling, she sat down on the back of the bull, and the others were about to follow her. But the bull leaped up immediately, now he had gotten her that he desired, and swiftly sped he to the deep. The maiden turned, and called again and

again to her dear playmates, stretching out her hands, but they could not reach her. The strand he gained, and forward he sped like a dolphin, faring with unwetted hooves over the wide waves. And the sea as he came, grew smooth, and the sea monsters gamboled around, before the feet of Jupiter, and the dolphin rejoiced, and rising from the deeps, he tumbled on the swell of the sea. . . .

"Timidly Europa looked around, and uttered her voice, saying, 'Whither bearest thou me, bull god? Who art thou? How dost thou fare on thy feet through the path of the sea beasts, nor fearest the sea?' . . .

"So spake she, and the horned bull made answer to her again: 'Take courage, maiden, and dread not the swell of the deep. Behold, I am Jupiter, even I; though, closely beheld, I wear the form of a bull, for I can put on the semblance of what thing I will. But 'tis love of thee that has compelled me to measure out so great a space of the salt sea, in a bull's shape. So Crete shall presently receive thee, Crete that was mine own foster mother, where thy bridal chamber shall be.'" *

They landed on the south shore of Crete near Gortys, where a plane tree was pointed out to later generations as the scene of the marriage of Zeus and Europa. Of her three sons by Zeus, Minos became king of Crete with his capital at Cnossus; Rhadamanthus, it is said, ruled over the Ægean islands; while Sarpedon went to Lycia and founded a kingdom there. According to one version of the story Minos and Rhadamanthus ruled with such justice that they were finally made judges of the dead along with Æacus. Of Rhadamanthus we hear comparatively little, but a long series of Cretan legends are grouped about the name of Minos.

Europa. Ovid, *Heroides*, IV, 55; *Metamorphoses*, II, 833 f.; Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*, V, iv, 44:

"We'll tip thy horns with gold,
And all Europa shall rejoice at thee,
As once Europa did at lusty Jove."

* *Moschus*, trans. A. Lang.

Landor, *Europa and her Mother*; A. de Vere, *The Rape o. Europa*; W. W. Story, *Europa, a Sonnet*; Tennyson, *Th Palace of Art*:

"Or sweet Europa's mantle blew unclasp'd,
From off her shoulder backward borne:
From one hand droop'd a crocus: one hand grasp'd
The mild bull's golden horn."

2. **The Minotaur and the Labyrinth.**—Minos married Pasiphaë (All-shining) the daughter of Helios. Their first-born son Catreus, whose family was powerful in the Ægean islands, and Deucalion, the father of the Cretan leader Idomeneus were treated in a measure as historical characters; Androgeos and Glaucus served only as the subject of minor tales; Ariadne, the most famous of all, was treated as a goddess and worshiped in many places. The most widely current story of Minos is concerned with the Minotaur (Bull of Minos).

FIG. 95.—SILVER COIN OF CNOSSUS IN CRETE.
On the obverse the head of King Minos, on the reverse a representation of the Labyrinth.

Boasting of his power to obtain from the gods that for which he prayed, Minos besought Poseidon to send him a bull for the sacrifice then in progress. The prayer was answered, but the snow-white bull that came from the waves was so beautiful that Minos could not bring himself to kill it. It remained among his flocks, a visible sign of Minos's cupidity. To punish him, Poseidon made Pasiphaë, Minos's wife, fall in love with the bull. The child of this most unnatural union was a monster with the head of a bull

and the body of a man—the so-called Minotaur. Meantime the bull sent by Poseidon had been captured by Heracles, who rode it through the sea to Argolis. Connected with the Minotaur story is the Athenian artist Dædalus. His presence in Crete is explained by saying that he had been banished from Attica for killing his nephew Talus, a youth whose developing skill even Dædalus

FIG. 96.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING WITH BLACK FIGURES ON A RED GROUND (sixth century B.C.).

Theseus grasps the horn of the Minotaur, which raises a stone to defend itself; on either side are spectators.

envied. When the Minotaur began to ravage the island of Crete, Dædalus constructed a labyrinth "with more windings than the river Mæander," a structure so complicated that even its maker could not find his way out.* In this labyrinth the Minotaur was confined, and prey was brought to him from the wide domains of Minos. In the mean time Androgeos, son of Minos, had gone to Athens and had met his death in conflict with the bull of Marathon (after Heracles brought the Cretan bull to Argolis, it was said to have escaped and ravaged the country about Marathon). Angry at the loss of his son, Minos prayed to the gods for

* It has been suggested that the very ancient king's palace recently excavated at Cnossus is so complicated that it may have given rise to the story of the labyrinth of Minos.

vengeance. A pestilence fell on Athens, from which the city was to find release only by yielding to the demands of Minos. Minos then exacted a tribute of seven youths and seven maidens each year for his Minotaur; at this price Athens purchased immunity from the pestilence.

The rest of the story belongs with the deeds of Theseus, yet it may best be told here. Theseus, son of Ægeus king of Athens, proposed to stop this tribute. He offered him-

FIG. 97.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (fifth century B.C.).
At the right an Eros is flying over the sleeping Ariadne; Theseus bends over to pick up his sandal, while Hermes beckons him to fly.

self as one of the seven youths and sailed for Crete after arranging with his father to change the black sails of his ship to white sails on his return, in case his mission proved successful. The success of Theseus, like that of Amphitryon in his expedition against the Taphians, was gained through the aid of the king's daughter, Ariadne, whose affection he won. She gave him a sword to kill the Minotaur and a ball of thread to serve as a clew to guide him out of the labyrinth. Ariadne accompanied Theseus and his companions when they left Crete after slaying the Minotaur, but Theseus abandoned her on the island of Naxos. At Delos he stopped to render thanks to Apollo for his success; as part of the worship he and his young men performed a dance in which they imitated the convolutions of the labyrinth. After all his adventures Theseus forgot to

change the sails of his ship as had been agreed. When Ægeus, watching from the Acropolis, saw the ship with black sails coming into the harbor, he threw himself down the precipice in grief and perished. The ship of Theseus was carefully preserved in the later period of Athens's greatness, each timber being replaced as it rotted, that each year it might bear a sacred embassy of Athenian youths to worship the god of Delos in memory of the deed of Theseus. As for Ariadne, the story of her waking on Naxos at the kiss of Dionysus, and of her marriage with the god of wine has already been told.

Minotaur. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 152 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 24; *Catullus*, LXIV; Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 122.

Ariadne. Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 473; Chaucer, *Legende of Goode Women*, VII; Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 80; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Maid's Tragedy*, II, ii; J. S. Blackie, *Ariadne*; Mrs. H. H. Jackson, *Ariadne's Farewell*; W. S. Landor, *Theseus and Hippolytus*.

3. **The Deeds and Fate of Minos.**—The story of Minos describes him as a great hunter, a ruler whose influence extended widely over Greek waters, and a warrior in the West as well as on the Ægean. As a hunter his name is connected with that of Dictynna, the Cretan form of Artemis, whom he sought to wed. Procris, who afterwards married Cephalus, also attracted his love; to her he is said to have given that spear with which Cephalus accidentally killed her, the spear that never missed its mark. The rule of Minos over the Ægean is said to have been strong enough to enable him to rid the sea from the curse of pirates. The Greek historians who rationalized the myth laid stress on his control of the sea. Cretan influence through his brother Sarpedon reached over much of Asia Minor also. The visit of Androgeos, his son, to Athens already mentioned, indicates the importance of the kingdom of Minos. He made

an expedition against Nisus, king of Megara, in which he succeeded by the same means by which Theseus succeeded in slaying the Minotaur; that is, by winning the love of that king's daughter. Scylla betrayed her father the king by cutting off the purple lock in which lay the secret of his immortality; but the lot of the traitor awaited her, for Minos threw her into the sea on his way back to Crete.

Of the children of Minos, Androgeos was slain by the bull of Marathon; Ariadne was abandoned by Theseus only to become the wife of Dionysus; Glaucus, pursuing a mouse, was drowned in a vat of honey, but the Argive seer Polyeidus found him and restored him to life; Catreus, whose son was exiled by reason of an oracle, was accidentally killed by this son in Rhodes, thus fulfilling the oracle; Deucalion succeeded his father as king of Crete, and his son Idomeneus was the leader of the Cretan hosts in the Trojan war.

The fate of Minos was connected with the exiled Athenian Dædalus. Dædalus offended Minos in his old age and was shut up with his son Icarus in the labyrinth he had himself made for the Minotaur. Even Dædalus could not find his way out of the labyrinth; he did however make some wings for himself and Icarus, by which they flew out from their prison. But Icarus, forgetting his father's warning, flew so near the sun that the wax with which his wings were attached was melted, and he perished in the sea beneath. Dædalus arrived safely in Sicily, where the wings were dedicated in a temple of Apollo.

The name of the town Minoa, in Sicily, was explained by the Sicilian expedition of Minos, an expedition almost as ill-fated as the later one sent to Sicily by Athens. Angry with Dædalus, Minos determined to punish the Sicilian king Cocalus, who had received the fugitive. Cocalus received Minos with all marks of hospitality. His daughters, on the other hand, were in league with Dædalus. They scalded Minos to death in the bath; and his followers, left

without a leader, founded the towns of Minoa in Sicily, and Hyria in southern Italy. The later calamities in Sicilian history were explained as the consequence of this breach of the laws of hospitality.

The checkered history of Minos is to be explained from three standpoints: First, as the son of Zeus, he is honored by the name "comrade of Zeus"; and after his death he becomes one of the judges of the dead. His wife is the daughter of Helios; his daughter Ariadne and his son Androgeos are worshiped as divinities. He dares to love Dictynna (Britomartis) herself. Secondly, the story of Dædalus connects Minos with Athens as its enemy. Dædalus himself was an exiled Athenian. Minos brought a curse on Athens for the death of his son Androgeos, a curse relieved only by the tribute of youths and maidens for the Minotaur: When Theseus ended this tribute, the carrying off of Ariadne was but one step more in the hostile relations of the two states. Moreover, the exiled Athenian became the cause of Minos's death. Thirdly, the story develops in such wise as to make Minos a great king. The Ægean yields to his sway, piracy is ended, tribute is paid to him from the islands and from the mainland, his colonies are scattered along the shores. Only when he attacks Sicily does this sea kingdom meet with disaster. These three threads are interwoven in the narrative, but the connection with Zeus tends to supersede the other two.

Minos. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 1 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 432.

Dædalus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 183 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 14; Chaucer, *House of Fame*, II, 411; Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, pt. i, IV, vi, 54; *Henry VI*, pt. iii, V, vi, 18:

"Why, what a peevish fool was that of Crete,
That taught his son the office of a fowl!
And yet, for all his wings, the fool was drown'd," etc.

J. Sterling, *Dædalus*; B. Taylor, *Dædalus*; J. G. Saxe, *Icarus a Travesty.*

VI.—MYTHS OF ATTICA

1. The Earth-Born First Man.—Later to develop and far more local in their character than the myths of Argos, of Thebes, or of Sparta, the myths of Attica have a charm of their own. And when at length they do find a place in poetry, the Attic dramatists treat them with a sympathy and a fresh interest which mark these as the stories of their own land.

Since Attica came under one government much later than the other Greek states, it is idle to expect the same unity in Attic myths as, for example, in those of Thebes. While it is agreed that an earth-born man is the beginning of the race of kings, different names are assigned to him—Erechtheus or Erichthonius, Cecrops, Cranaüs; and what no doubt was at first a local difference in the name of the first man, led to a series of such "earth-born" men placed one after the other in one continuous story.

Homer, in a passage often regarded as an interpolation * calls the Athenian acropolis the "domain of Erechtheus the high-hearted, whom erst Athena daughter of Zeus fostered, when Earth, the grain giver, brought him to birth;—and she gave him a resting place in Athens in her own rich sanctuary; and there the sons of the Athenians worship him." This Erechtheus who was worshiped with Athena in the Erechtheum was often identified with Poseidon under the name of Poseidon Erechtheus. To him one of the noble families of Athens, the Butadæ, traced their line, as we learn from an inscription set up in honor of the orator Lycurgus, who belonged to this family.

In the more developed form of the story the son of Earth brought up by Athena is called Erichthonius, the name Erechtheus is applied to his grandson, and the connection

* *Iliad*, II, 547.

with Poseidon falls into the background. After the death of Cecrops, who left no son, Erichthonius was born from the earth in the form of a serpent; Athena received him into her temple, where the daughters of Cecrops cared for him; and at length, becoming king, he installed the old wooden image of Athena in her temple and instituted the Panathenaic festival in honor of the goddess. Pandion, his son, was the king of Attica who entertained the god

FIG. 98.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (fifth century B.C.).
Earth (Ge), rising from the ground, hands Erichthonius (a human child) to Athena, in the presence of Cecrops (who has serpent legs), Hephæstus, and Herse. All the names may be read on the original vase.

Dionysus and received from him the gift of the vine. Pandion and Zeuxippe had two sons and two daughters, Erechtheus and Butes, and Procne and Philomela. The story of the daughters will be given in the following section —a version in which Butes is the ancestor of the Butadæ, and this Erechtheus becomes the central figure of Attic story. Procris, Creüsa, and Oreithyia are his daughters;* and the other three daughters who are assigned to him have a close connection with his own fate. It was in the reign of

* Cf. § 3, page 306.

this Erechtheus that Eleusis attacked Athens. Consulting the Delphic oracle the Athenians were told that victory would be theirs only if the king's daughters died for their country. As patriotism demanded, these three daughters died, and Athens was completely victorious, though it is said that Erechtheus as well as Eumolpus (king of Eleusis) died in the battle. There is this much truth in the story, that Eleusis remained independent of Athens much longer than the rest of Attica. Erechtheus was the last of the male line of Erichthonius whom Athena had brought up in her temple; Eumolpus was the son of Poseidon. With the death of the representatives of these two gods, their strife for Attica seems to have ended; and in Ion, the son of Apollo, begins a new period of Athenian history.

Besides Erechtheus or Erichthonius, evidently two names for one person, Attic story told of other earth-born kings: Ogyges, in whose reign the flood of Deucalion destroyed most of the human race; the celebrated Cecrops; and Cranaüs. Each of these is said to have reigned and died without issue before Erichthonius. Taking a name from each king, the Athenians called themselves Cecropidæ, and Cranaï, as well as Erechtheïds. Cecrops alone was important enough to deserve special mention. He was half man, half serpent, just as Erichthonius was said to have been born from the earth in the form of a serpent; for thus the Athenians explained a child of earth through that creature which most belonged to the earth. It was in the reign of Cecrops that Poseidon disputed the claim of Athena to Attica. The gods arranged to decide the question on the basis of gifts which each should make for the country; now it is Cecrops, now the gods in council, who are said to have adjudged the prize to Athena's olive tree rather than to the salt spring of Poseidon. Cecrops also was the first lawgiver of Attica, the founder of religious rites and rules as well as of civil law. His daughters, the

dew sisters, Pandrosus, Herse, and Aglaurus, were the first priestesses in the temple of Athena. Their care for the babe Erichthonius was said to be the origin of later mystic rites in the service of the goddess. Each of the three is connected with later myths. Ceryx, the ancestor of an important Athenian family, was the son of Pandrosus and Hermes. Cephalus, whose story is given in § 3, was the son of Herse. The establishment of the court of the Areopagus is connected with Alcippe, daughter of Aglaurus and Ares: A son of Poseidon outraged Alcippe and was slain by her father Ares. At the instigation of Poseidon the gods tried Ares and acquitted him; thereafter men followed the example of the gods and tried cases of murder in a court named for the hill of Ares. Pandion, son of Cecrops, succeeded him as king of Athens.

FIG. 99.—ATHENIAN VASE PAINTING ON THE INTERIOR OF A KYLIX (fifth century B. C.).

Philomela on the right holds up her naked son with expression of horror, while Procne gesticulates with her fingers.

Erechtheus. Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 113; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 552; J. S. Blackie, *The Naming of Athens*; Swinburne, *Erechtheus*.

Cecrops. Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, 270; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 555.

2. **Procne and Philomela, Daughters of Pandion.**—At Thebes the melancholy sweet song of the nightingale was explained by the story of Aëdon, who was changed to a nightingale after accidentally killing her son Itylus; so at Athens it gave rise to the story of Procne and Philomela. Pandion was aided in his northern wars by one Tereus, a Thracian king, whom he rewarded by the gift of Procne to be his wife. This barbarian coveted Philomela also. When she came to visit her sister he persuaded her that Procne was dead; made her his wife; and then, to conceal his crime, cut out her tongue and confined her in a lonely hut. Philomela wove her tale into a garment which she contrived to get into the hands of Procne. At one of the feasts of Dionysus when women were free to visit the mountains, Procne found and liberated her sister. Their punishment of Tereus was as barbaric as his crime; they slew his son Itys and served to the father at dinner the flesh of his own son. Tereus, on being informed of the deed, was about to slay the sisters, when the gods turned all three to birds—Tereus to a crested hoopoe; Procne to a swallow, harbinger of spring in Greece; and Philomela (Fond of Song) to a nightingale.

Philomela. Chaucer, *Legende of Goode Women*, VIII: *Philomena of Athens*; Milton, *Il Penseroso*, 56:

> "'Less Philomel will deign a song,
> In her sweetest, saddest plight,
> Smoothing the rugged brow of night."

M. Arnold, *Philomela*; Swinburne, *Itylus;* Oscar Wilde, *The Burden of Itys.*

3. **Procris, Oreithyia, Creüsa.**—The fate of these three daughters of Erechtheus furnished the theme for three distinctly Attic myths, all of which were treated on the Attic stage. Procris became the wife of Cephalus, a Phocian king who had settled in Attica. Cephalus was a famous

hunter whose fame extended to many parts of Greece. His beauty, which was as great as his hunter's skill, won the love of Eos, the Dawn; for it was at dawn that the Greek hunter sought his game. Eos, we are told, snatched him away from the earth to be her husband; or again, adopting craftier methods, she sought to win him away from Procris by making him doubt her fidelity. It was at this time that Procris in her loneliness found solace for herself in hunting. Minos met her while she was hunting on the Cretan mountains, and at her hands was cured of an evil charm cast on him by his wife. For Pasiphaë had used magic to the end that Minos should fall in love with every woman he met, and that this love should work harm to both parties. In gratitude to Procris for relief from this evil spell, Minos gave her his dog, which no creature could outrun, and his hunting spear, which never failed to hit its mark. According to Ovid, Cephalus tried the fidelity of his wife by assuming the form of another man and courting her affection; but, when he revealed himself in his true appearance, her affection for him was so genuine that he forgave her for yielding, and the two became reconciled again. The pledge of their renewed union was Procris's gift to Cephalus of the dog and spear she had received from Minos. This gift wrought her death. For, becoming jealous of Cephalus and Aura, the morning breeze, she hid herself in the bushes to watch them; Cephalus mistook her for some animal, as the leaves rustled; and now as always the fatal spear went straight to its mark.

The rest of the story of Cephalus does not belong to Attica, for this unwitting murder caused his banishment. In Bœotia the Thebans sought the hunter's aid against a fox sent by Dionysus to spoil their vines. Now this fox could outrun any pursuer; so, when the dog which nothing could escape was set on the fox which nothing could catch it was necessary for Zeus to turn them both to stone to solve

the difficulty. We hear later of Cephalus in the expedition of Amphitryon against the Taphians, and he is said to have ended his life in Cephallenia, to which island he gave his name.

It was on the banks of the Ilissus, where the valley catches the full force of the northeast wind, that the second daughter Oreithyia met her fate. This northeast wind is pictured as a Thracian king, Boreas, who sought the hand of the delicate Athenian maiden. Repulsed, he abandoned gentle methods and carried her off by force, as she was plucking flowers in the valley outside the walls. Thus Oreithyia became queen of the winds in Thrace. Her sons Zetes and Calaïs, who were winged like their father, sailed with Jason on the Argonautic expedition. Her daughter Cleopatra married Phineus and bore him two sons. These sons were blinded by their father at the instigation of his second wife, a crime which was avenged by their uncles when the Argonauts passed that way. A second daughter, Chione (Snow Maiden) bore a child to Poseidon. In fear of her father she flung it into the sea; Poseidon brought the babe safely to Ethiopia; and after he grew up, this Eumolpus became king of Eleusis. The Athenians never forgot their connection with Boreas. When many of the ships of Xerxes were dashed to pieces on the coast of Eubœa by a northeast wind, and the strength of this armada was crippled, the Athenians gave thanks to the wind god who had taken his wife from their city.

The third daughter, Creüsa, was more fortunate, in that Apollo himself fell in love with her. It was in a cave on the north side of the Athenian acropolis that the god met this maiden—the same cave in which later her child by Apollo was exposed. At the bidding of the god its father, Hermes brought the child Ion to Delphi, where he grew up as the devoted minister of the shrine. Later Creüsa married Xuthus, son of Æolus. When no children were born to

them they went to Delphi to consult the oracle. Outside they were received by Ion, servant of the god; entering the temple they learned that this noble youth was Creüsa's son by Apollo, and that after they had adopted him they might expect other children. Thus Achæus was born of these mortal parents; but Ion, the ancestor of the Ionians, had a god as his father. Moreover, through this myth the Athenians claimed primacy among the Ionian peoples; the future glory of the sea empire of Athens was their right; and Apollo, with Athena and Poseidon, became protector of Ionian Athens.

After the death of Erechtheus, Ion became king of Athens. The next important name in myth, Ægeus the father of Theseus, is ordinarily connected with Erechtheus rather than with Ion. In the reign of Ægeus local divisions of the country were more firmly united into one kingdom, the Attica of Theseus. Of Theseus, the Attic counterpart to Heracles, we can speak only after treating of Heracles himself.

Procris and Cephalus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 661 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 445; Austin Dobson, *The Death of Procris*; T. Moore, *Cephalus and Procris*; E. W. Gosse, *The Death of Procris*; Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, i, 198:

"Shafalus and Procrus."

Oreithyia. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 677 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, XII, 83.

Ion. Euripides, *Ion*.

VII.—MYTHS OF ÆTOLIA

1. **The Calydonian Boar: Meleager.**—The one story of Ætolia which found a permanent place in Greek mythology deals with the Calydonian boar, one of those monsters sent by the gods to lay waste the fields and threaten men. Such creatures had been sent to punish Laomedon of Troy

for perfidy and the parents of Andromeda* for boasting, as in other instances famine or plague were sent by the gods as the penalty for special offenses. In this instance the offense was neglect of Artemis by Œneus, king of Calydon. Œneus was a man of peace and a man of the city; he is known particularly for the lavish entertainment he

Fig. 100.—Late Roman Sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum.
The hunt of the Calydonian boar; Meleager stands in the center thrusting his spear into the boar, and to the right is Atalante with her bow.

furnished for Bellerophon, for Heracles, and at length for the boar hunters. As his name (Wine Man) indicates, he was the special friend of Dionysus; for from Dionysus came the vine that grew so luxuriantly in the rich valleys of Ætolia. With the huntress Artemis he had no special sympathy, so that perhaps it is no mere chance that she was forgotten in one of the great harvest sacrifices to all

*See i, § 4, page 266.

the gods. And in her anger at this neglect she sent a mighty boar to devastate and spoil the crops of his people.

The son of Œneus, Meleager, was very different from his father in that he loved hunting and was valiant in war. But to kill the boar help was needed. Heralds were sent all over Greece summoning heroes who loved sport and adventure to aid in the undertaking. Castor and Polydeuces came from Sparta, Idas and Lynceus from Messene; Theseus of Athens with his friend Peirithoüs, Jason and his cousin Admetus, Peleus father of Achilles, and Telamon father of Ajax responded to the call; and from the royal family of Arcadia there came Ancæus and his niece Atalante. These heroes and others from the vicinity, Œneus entertained for nine days before the hunt began. After an exciting chase it was Meleager who finally killed the boar. Its skin, the prize of the bravest, became the object of a quarrel which was waged most bitterly between the people of Calydon and the men from the neighboring city of Pleuron, from which had come Meleager's mother Althæa. In battle, as in the hunt, Meleager was most successful, driving the enemy before him and killing among others one of his uncles. For this deed his mother laid on him bitter curses. He withdrew from battle to his wife, the daughter of Idas and Marpessa; now the enemy were successful, pursuing the troops of Calydon back into the city, but no one could persuade Meleager to fight again. His father and at length Althæa herself sought his aid, but with no success. Only when the enemy were in the city and at his own doors did he yield to the entreaties of his wife and, joining the battle, scatter the invading army. In this, the older form of the story, the end of Meleager is not given.

Two new elements immensely increasing its tragic character found a place in the story by the time it was used by the Attic tragedians on the stage: (1) the love of Meleager for Atalante, and (2) the firebrand of Althæa. Ata-

lante, who thus becomes the central figure of the story, was the child of the forest, beloved of Artemis herself. Her father, desiring only sons, had exposed his daughter to die on the mountains of Arcadia. Here a she-wolf suckled her till shepherds rescued the infant and brought her to wander over the hills and hunt with them. And when she came with her uncle Ancæus to the hunt of the Calydonian boar, her beauty immediately won the heart of Meleager. He at once overruled the objections of some heroes who did not wish to have a woman share the hunt; and when Atalante had wounded the boar, and Meleager had given it the death blow, it was love that caused him to adjudge the prize to her. That a woman should receive the prize was more than the cousins of Meleager could endure; they lay in wait for Atalante as she returned from the hunt and took the skin of the boar from her by force. It was this injustice which led Meleager to attack his cousins, with fatal effect, and brought on him the anger of his mother.

The other new element in the myth had to do with his mother's anger. When Meleager was seven days old—that is, at the time he received his name—the three fates had appeared to Althæa with the statement that when a brand burning on the hearth was consumed, her son would die. Althæa quickly extinguished the brand and hid it away that her son might live. Now in her anger over the death of her brother (or nephew) she had a weapon far more potent than curses. The brand so long preserved was placed on the fire; as it burned the strength of Meleager waned, till at length the spark of life went out with the flame of the fatal brand. Thus while the outline of the story remains much what it was at first, its character and meaning are radically changed.

It was this same Atalante of Arcadia, girl of the woods and of war, who used to challenge her suitors to race on

condition that the one she defeated should die. Many accepted the challenge, only to perish when defeated. But one swift runner had the favor of Aphrodite, a goddess not honored by this protégée of Artemis. The apple was the symbol of love and marriage. It was with golden apples supplied by Aphrodite that Milanion of Tegea entered the

FIG. 101.—ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS, NOW IN THE LOUVRE.

On the right Meleager is killing the cousins who tried to murder him; nearer the center the dying Meleager lies on a couch; while at the left Althæa, incited by a Fury with her torch is burning the fatal brand in the presence of Fate with her scroll.

race. Dropping one of these from time to time as he ran, he delayed his competitor, for she must forsooth stop to pick up the apples of love; and so he won the race. From Milanion and Atalante was born Parthenopæus, one of the heroes who fell before the walls of Thebes with Polyneices.

Meleager. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 260 f.; Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 1213; Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, pt. ii, II, ii, 93; Ibid., *Henry VI*, pt. ii, I, i, 235:

> " As did the fatal brand Althæa burn'd,
> Unto the prince's heart of Calydon."

Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon*; W. Morris, *Atalanta's Race* (*Earthly Paradise*); E. Arnold, *Atalanta*.

Atalanta's Race. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 565 f.

CHAPTER XI

HERACLES AND THESEUS

I.—HERACLES

1. The career of Heracles is determined by his relation to several gods. He was a favorite son of Zeus,* but the jealousy of Hera pursued him with toil and trouble through all his mortal life. Athena, who cared for Perseus, Bellerophon, Diomedes, and Odysseus, was the person through whom Zeus showed his care for this son. She was his helper and his friend; she furnished him advice, weapons and garments, and warm baths when he was weary; at the end of his career it was Athena who bore Heracles, now a god, to Olympus. With Apollo also he was somewhat closely connected. The spirit of Heracles was manifested in his attempt to steal the tripod from the Delphic oracle to found an oracle of his own. This contest was stopped by interposition of the gods; thereafter Apollo and Heracles were friends. The oracle guided Heracles in time of trouble, while he fought the battles of Apollo against Dryopians, Lapiths, and other hostile peoples. Finally Heracles himself became a saviour god, warding off evil, much like Apollo himself.

Heracles in many ways resembles his father Zeus; in his strength and endurance, in his emotions and in his passions, in a sort of free recklessness, he suggests what

*See Chap. X, i, § 5, page 267, for the birth of Heracles.

Zeus might have been under other circumstances. Yet withal he is hardly a free agent, so much is his life tossed about in the currents of conflicting divine purposes. Certainly all his dangers and escapes, his toils and his successes, are due to one or another of the gods who were interested in him.

FIG. 102.—MARBLE STATUE LARGER THAN LIFE, NOW IN THE NAPLES MUSEUM (copy by "G'lycon the Athenian" from a work of about 300 B. C.). Heracles, a bearded man with very large muscles, is leaning on his club.

No hero was recognized so widely as Heracles. The families who traced their descent from him were almost as numerous as those descended directly from Zeus. Not only in Argos and in Thebes, but in Attica, in Arcadia, near Mt. Œta, in Ætolia, in Thessaly, and in Asia Minor were, it was said, centers of his activity. To him was attributed the founding of the Olympic games; in the palæstra of youth and in the gymnasium he was the patron of athletic sports. In all his toils he stands on the side of what is helpful to man. Marshes are drained, rivers drawn into better channels, evil beasts destroyed,

violent men and giants overcome, that man may live a more comfortable and happier life. In this way Heracles is made a moral hero. The story of the Choice of Heracles is in keeping with this side of his character. At the cross-roads two women met him, offering him free choice between a life of pleasure and a difficult life in the path of virtue. Not Aphrodite, whom Paris chose as the most beautiful, but the stern, chaste Athena became his guardian and friend; for he preferred Virtue to Pleasure. With all the faults of a big boisterous nature, with an appetite which Attic comedy never ceased to ridicule, his quick resentment of injury, his undue fondness for women, nevertheless he always stands on the side of light as against darkness, on the side of civilization and progress as against the evils which blocked men's forward course.

FIG. 103. — COIN OF CROTON IN SICILY (about 400 B. C.).

The infant Heracles strangling serpents.

2. **The Early Life of Heracles.**—The story of the Argive Alcmene, whom Zeus visited in Thebes before Amphitryon returned from his expedition against the pirates who had murdered his wife's brothers, has already been told. It served to connect the hero of Thebes with the old Argive line, by the birth of the twins, Heracles the son of Zeus, and Iphicles the son of Amphitryon. Of the latter we know little except that his son Iolaüs grew up to be the friend and assistant of Heracles in his labors. The nature of the son of Zeus was made clear even in his cradle, when the babe strangled with his own hands the serpents Hera had sent to destroy him. As a child of Thebes he was nurtured by the waters of Dirce, which made men and heroes strong. Leading a chorus of maidens in the worship of Apollo, the young Heracles won a tripod. The great masters of the heroic age were his teachers—Linus in music, Rhadamanthus in wisdom and virtue, Castor in the use of

weapons. Resenting the correction of a mistake, he struck Linus with his flute and killed him. For this act he was banished from Thebes to the companionship of the herdsmen on Mt. Cithæron, where his great strength soon became apparent. At the age of eighteen he killed the lion of Thespiæ with his hands alone. On the return from this

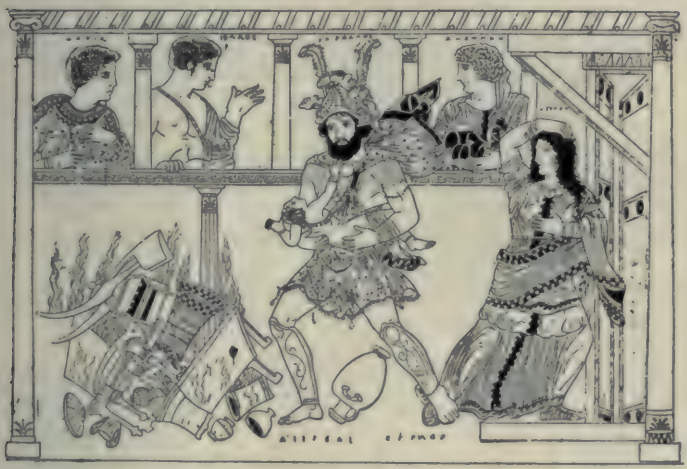

FIG. 104.—RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING FOUND AT PÆSTUM AND NOW IN MADRID (South-Italian work).

Heracles is on the point of casting his young child into a bonfire made of the furniture; at the right Megara is tearing her hair; *Mania* (Madness), Iolaüs, and Alcmene look in through the windows.

exploit he met a messenger coming from Orchomenus to receive the tribute paid by Thebes; he cut off his ears and nose and sent him home with these as tribute. In the war that followed, the prowess of Heracles carried the day for Thebes, though his father Amphitryon was killed; Orchomenus ever after recognized the supremacy of Thebes. It was as a reward for his valiant deeds that Heracles received Megara, the daughter of Creon, as his wife. During these years that friendship grew up between Heracles and the

young Iolaüs which proved of such value to Heracles in the toils and troubles of his later years.

The end of this happy period in his life was attributed to Hera. In jealousy she made him violently insane. He slew his young children and his wife Megara, nor would he have stopped at this point had not Athena herself stunned him with a large stone and thrown him into a deep sleep, from which he waked in his right mind. It was as a penalty for his deeds while insane that Apollo sent him to perform the labors assigned by Eurystheus.* Success in battle by means of the arms Athena gave him, insanity from Hera, healing from Athena, a penalty from Apollo—these were the forces that determined the life of Heracles.

Heracles Strangling the Serpents. Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 592.

Heracles Insane. Seneca, *Heracles Furens*; Schiller, *Das Ideal und das Leben*, 14.

2. **The Labors of Heracles.**—As Bellerophon performed the tasks assigned him by Iobates, king of Lycia, and Perseus secured the Gorgon's head at the bidding of Polydectes, so Heracles was bound to undertake the labors assigned by Eurystheus, though there was no power in the cowardly king of Tiryns to enforce demands on such a hero as Heracles. The list of twelve labors is not always consistent, nor was it given definite shape before the fifth century. On the "Theseum"† only ten labors are represented, of which at least two are not in the ordinary list. The earliest evidence for the story of twelve labors ordinarily given is found in the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The canonical representation of Heracles as

* For Eurystheus see Chap. X, i, § 5, page 268.

† The so-called Temple of Theseus at Athens was decorated with sculptured reliefs (metopes), representing at one end the labors of Heracles, at the other end the labors of Theseus.

armed with a club and wearing a lion's skin, the skin at first girded about him, later thrown over his arm, goes with the account of twelve labors; in earlier times he carried the bow of Apollo, and arrows poisoned with the blood of the Hydra.

(1) *The Nemean Lion.*—The scene of the first two labors is laid near Argos itself. A lion sent by Hera infested

FIG. 105.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (end of sixth century B. C.) Heracles is strangling the Nemean lion; at the left Iolaüs holds his club and bow on the right is his protector Athena.

the mountain valleys near Nemea. Heracles soon discovered that his arrows were unable to pierce its skin; so, stunning the beast with his club, he strangled it in his arms. The skin, so tough that it could be cut only by its own claws, as diamond cuts diamond, served to protect the hero in his later labors. It is said that Eurystheus was so frightened by the appearance of Heracles clad in the skin of the lion just slain, that he forbade him to enter the city of Tiryns again.

(2) *The Lernæan Hydra.*—Not far south of Argos was the pestilential marsh of Lernæa. Perhaps it was the poisonous vapor of the marsh which originally suggested the poison-breathing serpent; according to Hesiod, however, the hydra, like the lion of Nemea, was born of Echidna and Typhon and sent by Hera to overcome Heracles. His

FIG. 106.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (middle of sixth century B. C.). Heracles is cutting off the heads of the hydra one by one; behind him stands Athena, and in his chariot is Iolaüs.

flaming arrows drove it out of its lair in the marsh, brandishing its nine heads against the enemy. As fast as Heracles cut off a head with his sword, two new ones grew in its stead, till Iolaüs was summoned to sear the bleeding necks with a torch. A sea crab which was sent to aid the hydra bit the heel of Heracles till he found time to slay it. At length the nine heads were cut off, and the one that was immortal was buried under an immense stone. In the poisonous blood of the hydra Heracles dipped his arrows to make them the more deadly. If the hydra signified the poisonous vapor of a swamp, its death might mean for later genera-

tions that the swamp had been drained and its harmfulness ended.

(3) *The Erymanthian Boar.*—The next three labors are located in Arcadia. A boar from Mt. Erymanthus was ravaging the country; this it was Heracles's task to bring alive to Eurystheus. Up through the lower forests he hunted it, till at the very peak he overtook it and caught the wearied creature in a net. Eurystheus was so frightened at the sight of it that he crawled into a large jar. This was a favorite subject for vase painters, who represented Eurystheus in the jar and Heracles threatening to put the boar in with him. Some interpreters of myth are inclined to understand by the boar a raging mountain stream which Heracles followed to its source, devising a way to keep it within its banks.

It was on this trip that Heracles was entertained by the centaur Pholus, son of Cheiron. At his guest's demand Pholus tapped a cask of wine left by Dionysus. Other centaurs were attracted by the smell and attacked Pholus and his guest. Even the flaming arrows of Heracles could hardly drive them back; for the clouds, sympathizing with the creatures of the wood, poured down torrents of rain, which quenched their flames. When at last they were repulsed, Pholus, it was said, amazed at the effect of these arrows, accidentally dropped on his foot one that he was handling. Its poison soon killed him; and before returning to Tiryns, Heracles had to bury the friend who had aided him.

(4) *The Cerynian Doe.*—This marvelous creature with golden horns and brazen hoofs was sacred to Artemis. It was the task of Heracles to catch it alive and bring it to Tiryns. For a whole year he pursued it through Greece to the fabulous regions of the north and back at length to its native haunts, till at length by the river Ladon he succeeded in catching it. Apollo and Artemis at first

disputed his right to the prize; at length they yielded, and he bore it to Eurystheus.

(5) *The Stymphalian Birds.*—The valley of the Stymphalus in northern Arcadia was in early times blocked by natural barriers; so that the waters from the mountainside formed a marshy lake. Perhaps it was the pestilence from this marsh which was symbolized by the Stymphalian birds—birds with arrow-pointed feathers and terrible claws, which brought death to men and to flocks. To drive away these birds was the fifth task of Heracles. By means of clappers devised by Athena he scared them from their haunts and shot some of them with his arrows as they flew away. The lake itself was drained by means of underground passages, said to be the work of Heracles.

(6) *The Augean Stables.*—We next hear of Heracles in Elis. King Augeas had immense wealth in flocks and herds, including twelve white bulls sacred to Helios. His stables, which had not been cleansed for thirty years, were to be cleansed by Heracles in one day, a task which he accomplished by turning into them a neighboring stream till all the filth was washed away. King Augeas had promised Heracles one-tenth of the flocks as a reward; but when he learned that the task was performed in the service of Eurystheus, he refused to keep his agreement. This refusal was the alleged cause of Heracles's expedition against Elis in later days.

(7) *The Cretan Bull.*—Heracles experienced no special difficulty in capturing the Cretan bull for Eurystheus. This bull, the father of the Minotaur, he subdued with the aid of Minos and forced it to carry him on its back through the sea to Tiryns, as Europa had once been borne on the back of a divine bull to the island of Crete. It is said that Eurystheus sacrificed the bull to Hera; or again that it escaped and later was overcome near Marathon by Theseus.

(8) *The Horses of Diomedes.* — Diomedes, king of

Thrace, had fed a wonderful pair of horses on human flesh till their strength and spirit could be checked only by bronze chains and iron stalls. The horses yielded to the might of Heracles; but before he could get away, the people of the land attacked him. Although Heracles conquered them and fed Diomedes to his own horses, he lost in the fight

FIG. 107.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (end of sixth century B.C.). In the center Heracles is pressing forward on two Amazons; at the left a kneeling Amazon is fighting against another Greek.

his young friend Abderus. In his honor the city of Abdera was founded, and the Abderite games were instituted. The horses, after they had been presented to Eurystheus, escaped and finally were killed by the wolves of Zeus on Mt. Lycæus. It is in harmony with Greek thought of Thrace to interpret these horses as the wild winds and storms of winter; for a Greek to brave these storms with the frail boats of his day was a deed worthy of Heracles!

(9) *The Girdle of Hippolyte.*—Next Heracles was sent to Thrace to bring the girdle of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, for Admete, daughter of Eurystheus and priestess

of Hera. The girdle was highly prized, for it was the gift of Ares; but Hippolyte gave it to the hero from love and admiration. The Amazons, however, suspected some hostile design against their queen and attacked the Greeks as they were boarding their vessel. Thinking that the attack had been planned by their queen, Heracles shot her

FIG. 108.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (middle of sixth century B. C.). In the presence of Athena, Heracles has seized the middle head of the three-bodied Geryoneus.

with an arrow as he escaped; later he made an expedition against the Amazons to avenge their hostile acts.

(10) *The Cattle of Geryoneus.*—The last three labors of Heracles took him to more distant regions. Geryoneus, the son of Chrysaor and Callirhoë, lived in Erytheia, a mythical land of the extreme west. The journey thither Heracles made along the coast of Africa; or, in the earlier form of the story, he compelled the sun to take him in the sun boat to that mythical island which was his goal. The dog Orthrus fell before his club; the shepherd Eurytion, who sought to defend it, was overcome; and at length Geryoneus himself went to meet the intruder. A monster

with three bodies, six arms and six legs and three pairs of wings, he could not stand before the arrows of Heracles. The splendid red cattle were then transferred in the sun boat to Spain; from that point the journey to Greece was accomplished with many difficulties. In Gaul and the Alps enemies opposed his way; at Rome the giant Cacus cleverly drove some of the cattle backward to his cave, but Heracles recovered them and slew the giant; in Sicily he slew Scylla and the giant Eryx, while Athena made hot baths to refresh the hero; around the Adriatic, through Illyria and Epirus, and by Corinth the cattle were driven, till at length the journey was ended. The cows brought from such a distance were sacrificed by Eurystheus to Hera.

(11) *The Apples of the Hesperides.*—Again Heracles was sent to the western or the northern ocean to get the

FIG. 109.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING BY EUPHRONIUS (early fifth century B.C.).

Heracles has thrown the giant Antæus nearly down on his back; three women are present as spectators; at the left are seen the lion's skin, club, and bow of Heracles.

apples of the Hesperid nymphs. He went first to the nymphs of the river Eridanus for information; by them he was sent to Proteus, who told him how the apples might be secured. On his journey he met in Africa the terrible giant Antæus, son of Poseidon and Ge. A temple was hung with skulls of the men whom he had challenged to a wrestling match and then killed. In spite of his enormous

size he was no match for Heracles. But no sooner had Heracles thrown him than he gained new strength from the touch of his mother Earth, so that it was necessary for Heracles to lift him off the earth entirely before he could strangle him. Then while the hero slept after his contest, the pygmies, a miniature people, tried to bury him in the sand; awaking, he shook off the sand and amused himself by gathering up this tiny folk in his lion's

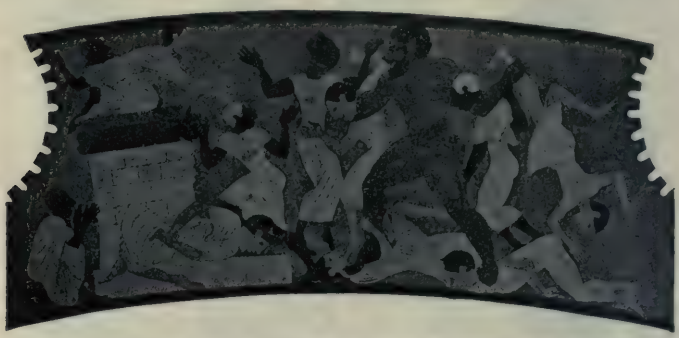

FIG. 110.—ARCHAISTIC VASE PAINTING IN BLACK AND WHITE ON A RED SURFACE (Etruscan fabric).

Heracles has freed himself from his bonds and is dashing the Egyptians against the altar.

skin. The adventure with Busiris in Egypt furnished many an amusing scene for Athenian comedy. This Egyptian king, having obtained relief from famine by sacrificing a stranger, kept up this inhuman practice. Heracles allowed himself to be bound as other strangers had been; but when he was brought to the altar he burst his bonds and dashed out the brains of his captors on the ground. Continuing his journey he came to the Caucasus where Prometheus was fastened to a cliff in a wild chasm, unable to protect himself from the vulture which preyed on his liver. Heracles shot the vulture, freed Prometheus, and secured liberty for him by arrang-

ing that the wounded Cheiron should go down to Hades in his stead.

At length Heracles arrived at his destination. Only Atlas, the tireless giant who bore on his shoulders the weight of the sky, could obtain for Heracles the coveted apples; and in order that Atlas might be free to get them, it was necessary for Heracles to assume his burden. It is one of the comic scenes of mythology when Atlas brings the apples and, showing them to the hero, proposes that he himself carry them to Eurystheus while Heracles still carries the heavens on his shoulders. To outwit him is not difficult. Heracles assents to the proposition provided only Atlas take the load while he gets himself a cushion; once free from his burden he picks up the apples without further ado and starts off home. The task fulfilled, Athena restores the apples to the place where they belong in the garden of the nymphs.

(12) *Cerberus.*—The last and most terrible task of all is to bring up from Hades the three-headed dog that guards the entrance to the lower world. The dreaded river of the Styx would have engulfed the wanderer, had not Athena and Hermes again appeared as his protectors. In the earlier story it is by force that Heracles carries off Cerberus after he has wounded Hades himself with an arrow; later it is said that at once on his arrival Heracles obtained grace at the hands of Hades and Persephone, because he had been initiated in the mysteries at Eleusis before setting out on this journey. In any case he faces alone this three-headed monster and, proving too strong for him, carries him up at one of those wild spots where the Greeks held there was direct connection between the upper and the lower world. While he was in the lower world Heracles promised Meleager that he would marry Dejaneira. He also found and rescued his friend Theseus; Peirithoüs, who was with Theseus, he tried to free, but his

efforts caused such earthquakes that he was obliged to desist. When the dog Cerberus had been shown to Eurystheus and then returned to Hades, the labors of Heracles in the service of Eurystheus were ended.

Labors of Heracles. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, xi, 27:

"Not that great Champion of the antique world,
Whom famous Poetes verse so much doth vaunt,
And hath for twelve huge labours high extold."

Shakespeare, *King John*, II, i, 141 f.; Ibid., *Taming of the Shrew*, I, ii, 157:

"Yea, leave that labor to great Hercules;
And let it be more than Alcides' twelve."

Ibid., *Coriolanus*, IV, i, 17.

Hydra. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 69; Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 287; Horace, *Odes*, IV, iv, 61.

Hippolyte. Virgil, *Æneid*, XI, 661; Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 10: Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV, i, 116.

Antæus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 183; Milton, *Paradise Regained*, IV, 563.

Geryoneus. Ovid, *Heroides*, IX, 92; Virgil, *Æneid*, VII, 662; VIII, 202; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XI, 410.

Apples of the Hesperides. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 637; Virgil, *Æneid*, IV, 483; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 249:

"Hesperian fables true."

Pope, *Temple of Fame*, 81; W. Morris, *Earthly Paradise*:

"The golden apples."

3. **The Later Deeds of Heracles.**—While the labors for Eurystheus were mostly feats of adventure, the later deeds were in general military expeditions that brought Heracles into contact with the different Greek nationalities.

(1) *Œchalia and King Eurytus.*—The first and the last of these deeds were associated with Œchalia, a city assigned

now to the Peloponnese, now to the island of Eubœa near Eretria. Its king, Eurytus, was celebrated for his skill with the bow; like Marsyas he is said to have perished because he boasted that his skill was greater than Apollo's; or, on the other hand, his bow and his skill in using it are both treated as the gift of this very god. In any case his bow passed into the hands of Odysseus, who used it in killing the suitors. When Heracles came to Œchalia, he accepted the challenge of Eurytus to a trial of skill, with the promise of Eurytus's daughter Iole in case he was successful. But Eurytus when he was beaten went back on his agreement, alleging that he would not give his daughter to a murderer and a man who had been a servant of Eurystheus. Soon some of his horses disappeared. Iphitus, his son, sent in search of them, sought the aid of Heracles in Tiryns. Heracles, eager for vengeance, could not let the opportunity pass; sacred as were deemed the rights of the guest, Heracles took him up on the walls, showed him the horses in a distant field, then slew him by throwing him down from the tower. Zeus himself was shocked by the dastardly act of his favorite son, and caused him to be sold into slavery for three years.

(2) *Heracles in Asia Minor.*—It was arranged by Hermes that Heracles be sold to Omphale, the warrior queen of Lydia, who got the full delight in her bargain by making Heracles wear female clothes and engage in spinning while she was performing deeds of valor with his club and lion's skin. At the same time she found Heracles useful in her wars. He quelled an insurrection for her, attacked the Lycian Tremiles, and made an expedition against the Amazons. Some amusing stories are told of his stay in Asia Minor. One Syleus used to oblige passers-by to cultivate his vines for him. When Heracles was impressed for this service he tore up the vines by the roots, ate so much as to make Syleus fear poverty, and ended by

turning in a river that washed away the whole vineyard. Again there were two girls, the Cercopes, who lived by robbing wayfarers. In spite of the warnings of their mother they tried their wiles on Heracles; waking from a nap he found his armor in their possession, but instead of acceding to their demands he fastened them to the opposite ends of a beam and started to carry them home on his

FIG. 111 —ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (end of sixth century B. C.)· Heracles is carrying the two Cercopes suspended head down from the end of a stick.

shoulder. Their jokes in this awkward predicament so amused him that he soon released them.

The expedition of Heracles against Troy perhaps belongs after his service of Omphale. On his return from his first visit to the Amazons he had stopped at Troy to free Hesione from a sea monster. Laomedon, king of Troy, like Sisyphus in Corinth, tried to outwit even the gods by his cunning. It seems that Apollo and Poseidon decided to investigate the matter for themselves. They made an agreement with Laomedon to build the walls of Troy for a definite price, but when the work was completed Laomedon refused to stand by his bargain. Thereupon Apollo sent a pestilence, and Poseidon a sea monster

that ravaged the land. Relief was promised on condition that the king's daughter, Hesione, like Andromeda, be chained to a rock at the mercy of the monster. Heracles, like Perseus in the other story, was touched by the sight of the helpless maiden. He agreed to free her on the promise of the horses that Zeus had given Laomedon when he carried off Ganymedes.* Then when the monster appeared he leaped into its throat, cut out its liver, and hewed his way out, though the heat in the creature's belly was so great as to burn off all his hair. Again Laomedon refused to keep his compact. When Heracles was free once more he collected the heroes of his generation for the first expedition against Troy—Æacus, Telamon (father of Ajax), Peleus (father of Achilles), Oïcles (father of Amphiaraüs), and many others. Laomedon slew Oïcles at the ships; but the others, penetrating inside the walls, slew Laomedon with his family and sacked the city. Hesione was left alive, the future wife of Telamon, and she was permitted to save one captive. She chose her brother then called Podarkes (Strong of Foot), later named Priam (Bought) because he was saved from the booty by his sister. It is said that Heracles was jealous of Telamon who first got inside the city, and was about to kill him when he was pacified by the altar to Heracles Victor which Telamon erected. On their way back the heroes experienced a terrible storm sent by Hera while Zeus slept. But Zeus awakened in season to save them, and punished Hera for her interference. Then Athena took Heracles to aid the gods in their battle against the giants.

(3) *Expeditions in the Peloponnese.*—The failure of Augeas to pay Heracles the price agreed on for cleansing his stables had never been forgotten. On his return from Troy, Heracles set out to avenge this insult. At first he

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*See Chapter III, page 108.

was unsuccessful, for the twin sons of Actor, Augeas's brother, were strong enough to drive back even Heracles. Later Heracles waylaid them on their return from the Isthmian games and slew them. Then Augeas was killed, and for the time being Elis was in the hands of Heracles. The daughter of Augeas became his wife, bearing him a son who was the ancestor of the later royal family in Elis.

The expedition against Pylos which followed was decided by the interference of the gods. The opponent of Heracles here was Periclymenus, a son of Poseidon, who possessed that power of metamorphosis so often attributed to beings connected with the sea. When Heracles attacked him he became an eagle, then a bee, a serpent, a lion, finally a mosquito; and he would have escaped in this form had not Athena opened the eyes of Heracles to see in this mosquito his opponent. Thus he perished; and with him perished all the family of Nereus with the exception of one son, Nestor, even though Poseidon and Apollo together had tried to check the onset of Heracles.

A third expedition was directed against Lacedæmon. Here the occasion was the death of one of the relatives of Heracles, when Hippocoön and his sons drove from the throne the sons of Tyndareus. On his way to Sparta, Heracles stopped at Tegea to secure the aid of Cepheus and his twenty sons; in their absence the safety of the city was secured by a lock of Medusa's hair, which would turn to stone any invader. In the attack on Sparta all the family of Hippocoön was killed, as were many of the sons of Cepheus. The Tyndaridæ were restored to the throne and bidden to hold it for the children of Heracles (that is, the Dorians).

(4) *Heracles at Mt. Œta.*—Another important center of Heracles's activity, here in the service of Apollo, was Mt. Œta. The mountains in Central Greece were occupied in early times by various races, some of which did not respect

the shrine of Apollo. The first campaign of Heracles in the interest of the god was against the Dryopians. Heracles, wandering with his son Hyllus, requested food from the Dryopian king; when hospitality was refused him, he took an ox and consumed it entirely. In the hostilities that followed, the Dryopians were reduced to servitude, their king slain, and their country given to the Malian king Ceÿx, who entertained the victor lavishly.

Next the attention of Heracles was directed against Cycnus, the son of Ares. In the worship of Apollo processions passed from the vale of Tempe down through Thessaly to Delphi. Midway between the two points, near Pagasæ, the wild giant Cycnus was in the habit of waylaying the procession to carry off some of those who were taking part in it. Heracles, attended by Iolaüs, attacked the giant; and when his father Ares interfered in the contest, Athena came to the aid of Heracles. So Cycnus was killed, and king Ceÿx buried him.

The campaign against the Lapiths recalls that against the Dryopians, for the incident of the ox entirely consumed by Heracles occurs in both of them. The Lapiths had been getting the better of their neighbors the Dorians, till Heracles interfered. Now the Dorians were completely successful; Hyllus, son of Heracles, became their king; and the connection of Heracles with the Dorian race was finally established.

(5) *Heracles and Dejaneira; the Death of Heracles.*— Soon after Heracles had completed his labors for Eurystheus he married the wife who was mother of the best known of his sons, Hyllus, and who at length became the unwitting cause of his death. The beautiful Dejaneira, daughter of king Œneus in Ætolia, had long been wooed by the river god Acheloüs. After a violent struggle with the river, which was conceived in the form of a bull with a horned human head, Heracles succeeded in breaking off one of his

horns. The river then yielded, and to get back his own horn he gave Heracles the horn of plenty in exchange. Then Heracles won the hand of Dejaneira, whom he had delivered from her too violent suitor. Œneus, the king, entertained him for a long time, till one day Heracles accidentally killed a boy who was related to the king. According to the law of murder he now left the country. When he came to the river Euenus the centaur Nessus, who ferried people over on his back, took Dejaneira across. Her beauty so stirred the wild creature's passion that he would have laid violent hands on her in midstream had not one of Heracles's poisoned arrows given him a death wound. Then he plotted vengeance. Taking some of the poisoned blood from his wound he placed it in a bronze jar, and bade Dejaneira keep it as a love charm to be used in case the affection of her husband should grow cold. Years passed in which Heracles performed deeds mainly in the service of the god Apollo. At length the opportunity came for him to avenge the insult offered to him by Eurytus, when he refused to give his daughter in marriage to one who had been a servant of Eurystheus. The expedition was entirely successful: Œchalia was destroyed, the family of Eurytus slain, and Iole followed with the captives in the train of Heracles. When Dejaneira heard rumors of the love of Heracles for Iole, she sent him a beautiful festal robe on which she had placed some of the poisoned blood that had been given her as a love charm. Heracles, pleased with her thought for him, put on the robe as he sacrificed to Zeus in thanksgiving for his victory. But when the robe was heated before the sacrificial flame, the poison began to strike in; torturing pains racked the hero's body; he threw Lichas who had brought the gift, headlong into the sea; at length he was brought home, cursing the wife who had caused his death. On learning of the result of her scheme, Dejaneira in despair hanged herself. At the com-

mand of Apollo, Heracles had a funeral pyre built on Mt. Œta; but when he mounted it, no one had the courage to light it. After a time a wayfarer, Poias, father of Philoctetes, lighted it in return for the gift of Heracles's bow and arrows—the bow by which Troy at length was to be captured. And on this pyre the mortal part of the hero

Fig. 112.—Lucanian Red-figured Vase Painting (third century B. C.). Below, two nymphs and two satyrs are seen by the pyre where the body of Heracles is still in the flames; above, Athena is driving the hero up to Olympus.

was consumed; the immortal part, Athena and Nike bore in triumph to Olympus. Hera at length was reconciled to the son of Zeus whom she had persecuted so long; and he received her daughter Hebe in marriage.

The descendants of Heracles were almost as numerous as those of Zeus. In nearly every part of Greece noble families attributed their prowess to this hero, with whom they originated. It was through his son Hyllus, however, that he obtained the most renown. The Peloponnese was to come into the possession of the Dorians who had

made Hyllus their king. In spite of many difficulties and delays this destiny was at length realized. By way of Ætolia, where Heracles had passed happy years with king Œneus, the Dorians at last made their way into the Peloponnese, where from Sparta as a center they developed that military power which in Greece had for centuries no successful rival.

Heracles and Omphale. Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 305.

Heracles at Troy. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, III, ii, 54.

Dejaneira. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 101 f.; L. Morris, *Dejaneira (Epic of Hades)*; M. Arnold, *Fragment of Chorus of a Dejaneira.*

Death of Heracles. Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII, 542; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 134–239; Seneca, *Hercules Œtæus*; Schiller, *Das Ideal und das Leben; Zeus zu Heracles.*

4. **The Roman Hercules.**—At a comparatively early date the Greek Heracles appears as Hercules in Rome. At first a shrine, later a temple, with rites of worship essentially Greek, was established between the Circus Maximus and the Forum Boarium. Here merchants and travelers sought the god's blessing; a tithe of their gain in trade was consecrated to the god, and the friends of the worshiper were feasted at a sacrificial meal. Here also, generals like Sulla and Crassus dedicated a portion of their booty, inviting all the people to splendid feasts in honor of Hercules Victor. As Alexander had claimed to be a Heracles, so the Roman emperors identified themselves with this victorious hero.

Although Hercules is without doubt an importation from Greece, his character was modified by the influence of certain older gods, in particular the ancient Dius Fidius, and Semo Sancus, a Samnite divinity. These were spirits of light and truth, enemies of giants and evil creatures. They presided over field, herd, and home, receiving tithes of the produce. In the worship of Hercules at the Roman

Ara Maxima there was associated with him a goddess, Acca Larentia, who stood for the wealth derived from the fields; even Hercules himself became a sort of Silvanus, patron of farmers. The victory of Hercules over Cacus* is sometimes attributed to one Garanus, who is an agricultural deity. At Tibur the predecessor of Hercules came into closer touch with the Greek hero, for there he had many of the attributes of a war god.

In Italy as in Greece, Hercules was the father of many peoples. By the daughter of Evander he had a son Pallas, a herdsman of heroic measure; Latinus was his son by Fauna, Fabius by a nymph, Aventinus by Rhea. And in this capacity Hercules was in a measure identified with the genius of manhood as over against Juno, the spirit of womankind. In Greece, Heracles had received as a wife the daughter of Hera after a lifetime spent in enduring persecution by her; in Italy the conflict of Hercules and Juno is hardly more than the man's effort to carry off a wife, and at length Hercules (Genius) appears as the husband of Juno herself.

In Italy some few deeds for the benefit of man were assigned to Hercules. Giants were overcome at Cumæ, for example; and a dam was built at Lake Avernus, where Hercules helped on their way the souls of the dead. The one important myth of the hero in Italy is concerned with his visit to this region, as he drove the cattle of Geryoneus toward Greece. At Rome he was welcomed and hospitably entertained by Evander, the hospitable king of the Palatine. Cacus of the Aventine hill seems to have been an old fire god, at least the cave where Hercules overcame him was a fiery spot. To the Greeks his name meant Evil One, the antithesis in myth to the good Evander. Stealing some cattle from the herd of Hercules he led them back-

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*See *supra* § 2, page 325.

ward by their tails till he could hide them in his cave, a device used by Hermes when he stole the cattle of Apollo. Accidentally Hercules found them for they lowed as the other cattle were driven by. Then came the conflict of the hero with Cacus, represented as a malevolent giant, and his victory over the giant in the fire cave. On an altar raised before the entrance of the cave Hercules offered one of his cows in sacrifice to the gods as a thanksgiving for his victory. Evander hailed him as Victor, and the people wearing laurel wreaths shared the feast just as in later times victorious generals entertained the people here with a banquet sacred to Hercules. Moreover Evander, who possessed the gift of prophecy, foretold the end of Hercules's labors, the end of Juno's wrath, and the deification of the hero.

II.—THESEUS

1. Theseus: His Birth and Youth.—Theseus was called the "second Heracles," in that he also freed the country from wicked giants and monsters, won numerous contests depending on strength and skill, and became a patron of athletic sports. An expedition against the Amazons, a victory over the bull of Minos, a visit to the lower world were attributed to both. While Heracles was patron of the Dorians and connected with Zeus and Apollo, Theseus was the hero of the Ionians in Greece proper and was under the care of Poseidon; Theseus was more closely associated with Athens than was Heracles even with Sparta, an association which demanded in him somewhat greater refinement of manner than was assigned to Heracles. It will appear further that the two heroes were friends, though there was little direct contact between them.

Ægeus the father of Theseus ruled prosperously in Athens, but he was not blessed with children. And when the oracle at Delphi gave him a dark answer as to how he

might get a son, he went to Trœzen to have it interpreted by Pittheus. Pittheus solved the difficulty very simply by giving Ægeus his daughter Æthra to wife. Ægeus soon left her at home with her father, with directions that if a son were born and he grew up to be strong, he should test his strength on an enormous rock beneath which lay concealed the sword and sandals of Ægeus. The wise Pittheus brought up his grandson in wisdom and in virtue, taught him to play the lyre, and trained him in athletic sports. When he reached maturity, he easily removed the rock indicated by Ægeus and set out for Athens with the sword and sandals. Pittheus had counseled him to take the road back from the coast; Theseus determined to disregard this advice that he might free the coast road from its terrors. Thus his labors were a matter of his own free choice, not a task assigned him by a hostile power.

FIG. 113.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING BY EUPHRONIUS (early fifth century B. C.).

The young Theseus, borne up by Triton, extends his hand toward the hand of the seated Amphitrite at the bottom of the sea; dolphins at the left indicate the sea; in the center Athena is present with spear and owl in her hands to protect the hero.

Although Theseus was regarded as the son of Ægeus, there was some connection between him and Poseidon such that sometimes he was called the son of Poseidon. It is

said that Minos of Crete, doubting his connection with the god, threw a ring into the sea and bade Poseidon's son fetch it for him. Without hesitation Theseus dived into the sea; on his reappearance he brought not only the ring, but also a golden wreath given him by Amphitrite.

Theseus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 404 f.

2. **The Six Labors of Theseus.**—The six labors ordinarily assigned in myth to Theseus, all of them performed on his way from Trœzen to Athens, correspond to the twelve labors of Heracles. Their purpose was to free from danger the roads along the coast near the Isthmus. At the same time Theseus is said to have established the Isthmian games in honor of Poseidon. Just as Heracles had made safe the Thessalian road to the Delphic oracle, so it was the task of Theseus to open the way for men to attend the Isthmian games with safety.

(1) A little way from Trœzen, in the vicinity of Epidaurus, was the haunt of Periphetes, the son of Hephæstus. Though lame like his father, Periphetes had a mighty club studded with iron by means of which he used to slay travelers who came by. Theseus slew him and took his club.

(2) At the Isthmus of Corinth was a second giant, Sinis, called the "Fir Bender" because he used to make wayfarers help him bend over some supple tree till its top was within reach; then he would fasten the stranger's head to the top of the tree, which, when released, would dash him to pieces. Theseus made Sinis help him bend a huge fir tree, by which the giant met the same fate.

(3) A little farther on toward Athens, Theseus encountered the Crommyonian sow, a huge beast that was devastating the country. This he slew and freed the land from its pest.

(4) By the steepest part of the pass near Megara, at the spot where Ino,* daughter of Cadmus, is said to have leaped into the sea, lived another giant, Sceiron. It was

FIG. 114.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (early fifth century B. C.).

At the left in the upper series Theseus is fastening Sinis to a tree that has been bent over; in the center he is slaying the Minotaur; at the right he is stretching Damastes on his own bed. In the lower series at the left he is throwing Sceiron into the sea; in the center he is wrestling with Cercyon, and at the right he is slaying the Marathonian bull. The painting is on the outside of a flat cup (*kylix*). The small painting on the interior represents a flying Eros.

his habit to make strangers stoop down to wash his feet; then he would kick them over the cliff into the sea, where

*See Chapter X, page 285; Chapter XII, page 347.

a sea turtle used to devour them. Theseus threw him over this same cliff and made the pass safe for travelers.

(5) Near Eleusis the giant Cercyon used to make everyone wrestle with him, slaying each one who yielded. Cercyon also Theseus overcame; and him he treated as the giant had been accustomed to treat those he had overcome. Further, Theseus freed Cercyon's daughter Alope from cruel bondage, and her son Hippothoön became king instead of his grandfather.

(6) Last of all Theseus encountered Damastes, better known as Procrustes, because he obliged wayfarers who fell into his hands to lie on an iron bed. If they were too long their legs were cut off to fit the bed, or if they were too short they were stretched till they fitted it. When Damastes had fallen by Theseus's hand, the road to the Isthmus along the coast in either direction was made entirely safe for travelers.

Theseus was purified near Athens from the stain of blood by the Phytalidæ, and escorted into the city wearing a festal robe. Some workmen driving a load of stone laughed at this youth of almost womanish appearance, till he loosed the oxen from their load and lifted wagon and stone on his shoulders and bore it into the city. Medea, the wife of Ægeus, was by no means pleased to have this son by another wife appear on the scene. She prepared a cup of poison for him; when her scheme failed, she disappeared through the air on a winged chariot, and left Ægeus to enjoy his new-found son. Just at this time his appearance was most welcome to Ægeus; for the cousins of Theseus, the wild sons of Pallas, were preparing to seize the throne by force. An ambush was set for Theseus, when he set out to meet them. But learning of the plan he slew those who were in hiding first, then scattered the rest, so that the throne was made secure.

Labors of Theseus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 433 f.

3. **Theseus and Marathon.**—When the Athenians charged the overwhelming forces of the Persians at Marathon, that first time when Greeks stood up in open contest with the successful armies of the East, a divine hero in full armor is said to have appeared in their ranks to turn the tide of battle in their favor. The help against the enemy on this field was the more naturally attributed to Theseus, for Theseus had special ties with Marathon. It was here that Peirithoüs * stole the cattle, from here that Theseus set out to recover them; at sight of his opponent Peirithoüs gave up the cattle and refused to fight, for Theseus was the man he wanted to be his friend. It was in the mountain pass near the plain of Marathon that Theseus and Peirithoüs concealed Helen of Sparta when they left this world for their expedition to Hades. And when this region was in distress, Theseus came to its aid. A bull, sometimes said to be the Cretan bull that escaped after Heracles had brought it to Eurystheus, was wasting the crops and threatening the people. First Androgeos, son of Minos, who had won renown in the Panathenaic games, was sent against it; but Androgeos was slain by the bull. Then after some years, after Theseus had successfully overcome the Minotaur in Crete,† he was sent against the bull. Simply wrestling with it he subdued it, as Heracles had done before him, brought it to Athens, and offered it in sacrifice to Apollo Delphinios.

4. **Theseus the King: His Combat with the Amazons.**—Generations after his own day Heracles was made the patron of Sparta and the Dorians, whom once he had befriended; on the other hand myth always treated Theseus as king of Athens. And as king the reconstitution of the state was attributed to him. There is abundant evidence that Attica had consisted of numerous petty states, with no

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* Cf. *infra* § 5, page 345. † Cf. Chap. X, p. 300, and figure 96.

larger ambition than to subdue one or another of their own number. These principalities with their different interests, different occupations, perhaps different races, Theseus is said to have reduced to one state, establishing the Panathenaic festival as the seal and pledge of Attic unity. The truth of the tradition does not concern us, though it has some basis in historic fact; that the unity of Attica should be attributed to Theseus makes him stand out in myth as preëminently a statesman.

It was as king of Athens, not as a free lance, that Theseus came into conflict with the Amazons. It is true that in one form of the story he went in the expedition of Heracles, which has already been mentioned; true, further, that a separate expedition of Theseus and Peirithoüs against the Amazons is sometimes mentioned. These expeditions, however, are used mainly as motives to explain the attack of the Amazons on the newly established state of the Athenians. As Athens was represented by Theseus in the defense of Lapiths against Centaurs, and as Athens later took the lead in the defense of Greece against Persia, so in this instance we find Athens defending Greek ideals of the state against an attack of barbarian invaders. The Amazons, so the story goes, drove in the people to the acropolis of Athens and established themselves on the hill of their patron Ares (the Areopagus) opposite the entrance to this fortress. Again it was Ares against Athena, but the case was not settled by war alone. As Hippolyte showed favor to Heracles, Antiope,* her successor as ruler of the Amazons, fell in love with Theseus, deserted her own people, and aided Theseus to drive them away. Theseus is like Heracles also in the fickleness of his affections. He

* In a form of the story more generally accepted, Theseus had carried off Antiope on his earlier expedition; and her death is connected with the conflict before the acropolis.

had deserted Ariadne; presently he deserted Antiope for Phædra. And when the wild queen plotted to slay her husband, it was Heracles who spoiled the plot by slaying her. Hippolytus, her son, grew up to be honored by all, till he was involved in trouble by Aphrodite. He disdained the goddess whom his father had honored. She took vengeance by making Phædra, his step-mother, fall in love with him; and when he repulsed her advances, Phædra occasioned his exile (and death) by accusing him of the crime he abhorred. Thus trouble overtook Theseus in his old age.

Theseus. Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 1 f.

Hippolytus. Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 265; Virgil, *Æneid*, VII, 761; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, v, 39; R. Browning, *Artemis Prologizes*; L. Morris, *Phædra* (*Epic of Hades*); Swinburne, *Phædra*.

5. **Theseus and Peirithoüs.**—It was a somewhat different version of the story which laid stress on the friendship of Theseus with Peirithoüs. The friendship began, as has been pointed out, in a manner showing the character of both heroes. Sent to attack Peirithoüs for carrying off cattle from Marathon, Theseus so impressed his opponent by his noble bearing that the two became inseparable friends. They were connected in the story of the Amazons, in the abduction of Helen, and in two other adventures yet to be noticed. Theseus was invited by Peirithoüs to be present at his marriage. The Thessalian Centaurs also were invited—a wild folk, who easily became intoxicated and then insulted the Lapith women who were present. In the conflict that ensued, the valor of both heroes was crowned with final success, though it was only with considerable loss to the Lapiths that their fierce opponents were driven off. This exploit of Theseus parallels the adventure of Heracles with the drunken Centaurs in Arcadia. It became famous especially in that it furnished

the theme for much of the decorative sculpture on Greek temples, and in particular on the Parthenon.

The last exploit of these two heroes was the insane attempt to carry off Persephone, the bride of Hades, as they had carried off Helen. The attempt was doomed to failure from the start; Hades overcame the two and chained them to a rock in the underworld. Heracles, when he went to fetch Cerberus for Eurystheus, succeeded in liberating his friend Theseus but could not loose Peirithoüs.

On returning to Athens, Theseus found another family on the throne. He then went to Scyros, where at first he was hospitably received by the king. Before long he was treacherously killed, and was buried there. The sons of Theseus regained the throne at Athens; centuries later the bones of the hero were brought with much ceremony to Athens, and a shrine was established for his worship.

Peirithoüs. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XII, 218; Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 618,

CHAPTER XII

THE ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION

1. **The Family of Athamas and of Cretheus.***—Even in the time of the Persian wars, according to Herodotus, human sacrifice was practiced by the descendants of Athamas in Thessaly. It was a two-sided nature god (a cruel winter god and a kindly god of summer) that they worshiped under the name of Zeus. To the storm god of winter this family on rare occasions felt it necessary to offer one of their own number in sacrifice; but ordinarily, just as Jehovah prevented the sacrifice of Isaac, which he had asked of Abraham, so this Zeus as the god of life and growth is said to have prevented the consummation of the sacrifice. The origin of the practice is referred to Athamas, son of the Thessalian king Æolus, and brother of Cretheus and of Sisyphus at Corinth. Athamas had two children, Phrixus and Helle, by his first wife Nephele (Cloud); later he married Ino, daughter of the Theban Cadmus, who bore him Learchus and Melicertes. With the spirit of the traditional Greek stepmother, Ino persuaded Athamas that it was his duty to sacrifice Phrixus to Zeus. But Zeus interfered, sending a ram with golden fleece, which bore off both Phrixus and Helle. Helle lost her hold and perished in the sea named for her, the Hellespont; Phrixus kept on till he reached Æa where he sacrificed the ram to Zeus and dedicated its fleece in the grove of Ares. This was the

* For the genealogies, compare Tables II and III, following Index.

golden fleece which the Argonautic expedition was sent to obtain. Phrixus married the daughter of Æetes, king of this mythical land, and had two sons. One of them, Argus, built that goodly ship the *Argo*; the second son, Cytissorus, in later time prevented the sacrifice of Athamas to

FIG. 115.—WALL PAINTING IN THE NAPLES MUSEUM.
Phrixus on the ram bends over in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue Helle, who has risen to the surface of the water.

Zeus. Ino at length brought on herself and on Athamas the wrath of Hera by undertaking to bring up her sister's child, the babe Dionysus. Hera made Athamas insane. First he killed his son Learchus; then he pursued Ino and Melicertes from land to land, till at length they jumped into the sea near Megara. Ino thus became the sea goddess Leucothea, and Melicertes the sea god Palæmon.

The next step in the story brings in the family of

Cretheus, the brother of Athamas, Sisyphus, and Salmoneus. The daughter of Salmoneus, Tyro by name, first won the love of Poseidon, to whom she bore twin sons, Pelias and Neleus; later she married her uncle Cretheus, by whom she had three sons, Æson, Pheres, and Amythaon. The first tale connected with the family brings in Admetus, son of Pheres, and his cousin Alcestis, the daughter of Pelias. Admetus ruled righteously in the Thessalian city

FIG. 116.—STUCCO RELIEF FROM A ROMAN TOMB.
Admetus in the center calls the attention of the seated Pelias to the yoked boar and lion; Alcestis, veiled as a bride, stands by the side of Pelias.

of Pheræ. While he was yet a young man, the god Apollo became a shepherd in his service. It seems that Apollo was very angry at the death of his son Asclepius,* and dared to slay in requital one of the Cyclopes of Zeus; wherefore he was condemned to serve a mortal man, Admetus, in the capacity of shepherd. A close relation was established between the righteous king and the god for a time his servant, such that Admetus received peculiar favors from Apollo. When he asked for the hand of his cousin Alcestis in marriage, her father Pelias bade him yoke a wild boar and a lion for the marriage chariot, which he did by the aid of Apollo. At this marriage Artemis was neglected.

* See Chap. VII, § 6, page 223.

The goddess was quick to take offense, and Admetus found serpents in his bridal chamber; but no further harm occurred, for again Apollo stepped in and succeeded in appeasing his sister. Thirdly, from the Fates* Apollo obtained for Admetus the privilege of furnishing a substitute when the fated hour of death should come to him. Admetus was disappointed that neither his aged father nor his mother was ready to die in his stead; only his wife loved him enough to make the sacrifice for him. It turned out that Persephone was so touched by this act of wifely devotion that she permitted Alcestis to return to the husband she loved. Or, as Euripides† tells the story, at the time of Alcestis's death Heracles happened to come to the house of Admetus, seeking hospitality. Entertainment was furnished him; but when he learned of the death of Alcestis, he lay in wait for Death himself at the grave and, snatching his booty from him, restored Alcestis to her husband.

Pelias stands in unpleasant contrast to the upright, kindly, but selfish Admetus. This shrewd son of Poseidon first drove out his twin brother Neleus, who established himself in the "sandy Pylus" of Homer; there eleven of his sons were slain by Heracles, but Nestor remained to counsel the warriors before Troy. Then Pelias usurped the rights of the sons of Cretheus, taking both their property and the kingdom of Iolcus. To protect his son Jason from the usurping tyrant, Æson sent him to Mt. Pelion to be brought up by the good centaur Cheiron. It is said that Hera appeared to Jason one winter's day in the form of a decrepit old woman asking to be carried across a raging mountain torrent; the kindness of the hero on that occasion won him the favor of the goddess, which Pelias had forfeited by an impious act in her sacred grove. Thus Jason grew

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* *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*.

† In his *Alcestis*.

up in close contact with nature and versed in nature lore, pure, frank, and open, as his uncle was cunning and haughty.

Ino. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 416 f.; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XI, 135.

Æson. Frederick Tennyson, *Æson and King Athamas.*

Alcestis. Ovid, *Tristia*, V, xiv, 37; Milton, *Sonnet*, xxiii:

"Methought I saw my late espousèd saint
Brought to me, like Alcestis, from the grave,
Whom Jove's great son to her glad husband gave,
Rescued from death by force, though pale and faint."

W. Morris, *The Love of Alcestis*; R. Browning, *Balaustion's Adventure.*

Pelias. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 298 f.

Phrixus. Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 852.

2. **The Voyage of the Argonauts.**—On one occasion when Pelias consulted the oracle he was warned to look out for the man with one shoe. Soon after, members of the royal family were summoned to a great sacrifice in honor of Poseidon. Jason left his plow to come, and after crossing a river forgot to put on his second sandal. Or, as Pindar * tells the story, Jason remained with Cheiron till he was fully grown.

"So in the fullness of time he came, wielding two spears, a wondrous man; and the vesture that was upon him was twofold, the garb of the Magnetes's country close fitting to his splendid limbs, but above he wore a leopard's skin to turn the hissing showers; nor were the bright locks of his hair shorn from him, but over all his back ran rippling down. Swiftly he went straight on, and took his stand, making trial of his dauntless soul, in the market place when the multitude was full.

"And as the people looked on him with wonder and admira-

* *Pythian Odes*, IV, trans. Myers.

tion, Pelias came, and though he saw that he was the man with one shoe he asked with no sign of fear as to who he might be and what his country.

"'From the cave of Cheiron I am come home,' was Jason's answer, 'to seek the ancient honor of my father, held now in rule unlawful, which of old Zeus gave to the old chief Æolus and his children. For I hear that Pelias yielding lawlessly to evil thoughts hath robbed from my fathers whose right it was from the beginning; for they, when first I looked upon the light . . . made counterfeit of a dark funeral in the house as though I were dead . . . and gave me to Cheiron, the son of Cronus, to be reared. . . . Now therefore, kind citizens, show me plainly the house of my fathers who drave white horses; for it shall hardly be said that a son of Æson, born in the land, is come hither to a strange and alien soil. And Jason was the name whereby the divine Beast (Cheiron) spake to me.'

"Thus he said; and when he had entered in, the eyes of his father knew him; and from the aged eyelids gushed forth tears, for his soul was glad within him when he beheld his son, fairest of men and goodliest altogether."

Then after a feast at which were gathered all his kindred Jason asked for the kingdom of his fathers, resigning to Pelias the claim to his property; and the latter answered him:

"'I will be even as thou wilt, but now the sere of life alone remaineth to me, whereas the flower of thy youth is just burgeoning; thou art able to take away the sin that maketh the powers beneath the earth wroth with us: for Phrixus biddeth us lay his ghost, and that we go to the house of Æetes, and bring thence the thick-fleeced hide of the ram, whereby of old he was delivered from the deep and the impious weapons of his stepmother. . . . This deed do thou offer to me to do, and I swear to give thee up the sway and kingly rule. Let Zeus the ancestral god of thee and me be witness of my oath and stablish it surely in thine eyes.'"

So Jason summoned the heroes of Greece to aid him in getting the golden fleece. Acastus, son of Pelias, joined him, and his cousins, Admetus and the sons of Neleus.

Heracles came too, Castor and Polydeuces from Sparta, Zetes and Calaïs, winged sons of the north wind, Orpheus the musician, and Mopsus the prophet; these and many others were ready to help him.

Fig. 117.—Terra Cotta Relief in the British Museum.
One workman is shaping the prow of the vessel, while another is arranging the sail under the direction of Athena.

Then the *Argo* was built with the aid of Argus, Athamas's grandson, and of Athena. A piece of Dodonæan * oak, which had been built into the prow, spoke a propitious word; sacrifices and prayers were offered; and the voyage to the land of king Æetes began. Stopping at Lemnos the voyagers found that at the instigation of Aphrodite all the men of the island had been killed. They remained

* For Dodona, see Chapter III, page 90.

there long enough to celebrate funeral games in honor of the dead king, and to consummate marriages with some of the women. The next delay was in the region of Cyzicus, where they were involved in a conflict that resulted fatally to the king of the region. Heracles, inexpert at rowing, broke his oar as they set out again. It was necessary for him to go into the forest to cut another; and here the nymphs of a spring, it is said, fell in love with the beautiful Hylas, the young companion of Heracles. Then Hylas could no longer be found, for the nymphs had drawn him to themselves beneath the water. After hunting a long time Heracles went perforce to join his friends on the *Argo*: but he made the Mysians promise to keep up the search, which they did for many years.

By the entrance of the Bosporus the crew of the *Argo* went ashore for water. The spring they found was guarded by a giant, Amycus, son of Poseidon, who took pleasure in keeping people away from its waters. In spite of his enormous size and strength Amycus was no match for Polydeuces, who was the typical Greek athlete, tough, wiry, skillful, and at the same time a model of beauty. He left the giant tied to a tree; and the creatures of the wood, like the Argonauts, were free to enjoy the spring.

Toward the end of the Bosporus was the home of Phineus, the blind prophet. Phineus had married the daughter of Boreas and Oreithyia; and when he blinded and killed her children to please their stepmother, Zeus blinded him, and the Harpies befouled his food or snatched it away. Phineus was ready to give the Argonauts the necessary information as to their voyage in case he was relieved from this pest. So the winged sons of Boreas, Zetes and Calaïs, attacked the Harpies. The pursuit carried them over land and sea into distant regions; it became evident that either pursuers or pursued must die; and finally the Harpies were driven into the sea and drowned. Then Phineus told the

Argonauts of the Symplegades, the moving rocks at the entrance of the inhospitable sea, which crashed together when even a bird tried to pass between them. By his advice a dove was sent between the rocks first. With but the loss of its tail feathers it passed through. Then, before the rocks were fairly open, the *Argo* was driven on at full speed. Thanks to the aid of Hera it got through with only the loss of its rudder; and thereafter the moving rocks became fixed, though the entrance from the Euxine to the Bosporus has always remained a dangerous place for shipping.

The destination of the Argonauts, Æa, the realm of king Æetes, was originally an island in the west; later it was located in the region of Colchis on the east coast of the Euxine. This Æetes was the son of Helios, the brother of Circe, and the father of Medea. Both the daughter and her father were skilled in all magic arts, in herbs, potions, salves, and incantations. Further, Medea was a woman of violent passions, with power to love and to hate such as belonged to no other woman of myth. By the will of Aphrodite, Medea fell passionately in love with the splendid youth who had come for the golden fleece; and such was the power of her arts that he was able to perform the labors assigned him by Æetes, to overcome the dragon that guarded the fleece, and to escape with his prize. His first labor was to yoke the fire-breathing bulls with iron hoofs and to plow the field of Ares. A magic salve, which Medea had given him to protect him from fire and iron, enabled him to fulfill the task. Next he was bidden to sow the dragon's teeth given him by Æetes. When men sprang from the ground in full armor ready to attack him, like Cadmus he threw a stone among them, and they fell to fighting each other. Then it was that he learned about the golden fleece and by the aid of Athena and Medea overcame the dragon. Or, according to another version of the tale, Æetes in fear

sought to slay all the Argonauts. Then Medea helped Jason to slay the sleeping dragon, to secure the fleece, and to escape the angry king. Medea not only sacrificed her honor and her home to flee with Jason, but when the pursuers gained on them, she heartlessly slew her brother Apsyrtus and delayed the pursuit by dropping parts of the body for her father to pick up.

Two stories, both difficult to understand geographically, are told of the return of the Argonauts. They go northeasterly up the river Phasis to Oceanus and then south and west to Libya, where the ship *Argo* is transported twelve days by land to the Tritonian lake. Or, they go northwesterly up the Danube, to the coast of Illyria, south through the Tyrrhenian sea to the isle of Circe and the land of the Phæacians, till at length they can transport the *Argo* overland twelve days to the Tritonian lake. In both accounts they then visit Cyrene, where they receive from Poseidon that clod of earth which is dropped into the sea near Thera the sign of the future course of the colonists of Cyrene.

Jason. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 1; Dyer, *The Golden Fleece*; W. Morris, *The Life and Death of Jason*.

The Argo. Virgil, *Eclogues*, IV, 34; Catullus, liv; Pope, *Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day*, 40:

> "While Argo saw her kindred trees
> Descend from Pelion to the main."

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 1017:

> "And more endanger'd than when Argo pass'd
> Through Bosporus betwixt the justling rocks."

Hylas. Virgil, *Eclogues*, VI, 43; Pope, *Autumn*, 6; Ibid., *Dunciad*, II, 336; T. Moore, *Song*:

> "When Hylas was sent."

B. Taylor, *Hylas*.

Phineus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V, 1 f.

Medea. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 11; Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 1086; Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, pt. ii, V, ii, 59.

3. **Medea in Greece.**—The barbarian queen was never at home in her new surroundings. Her first achievement was the death of Pelias, who refused to yield the throne to the returning Jason. Jason himself and his aged father had their youth renewed by Medea's magic arts; then the daughters of Pelias desired the same gift for their father.

FIG. 118.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (middle of the sixth century B. C.).

At the left sits the aged Pelias; at the right the two daughters of Pelias watch the old goat which has its youth renewed by Medea in a caldron over the fire.

Medea cut up an old he-goat, boiled the pieces with herbs in a caldron, and produced a young kid; but when the daughters of Pelias tried the same experiment with their father, it naturally resulted in his death. Splendid games were performed in honor of the dead king—games celebrated in song and in art. On the famous chest of Cypselus, Heracles was represented as the judge of the games; Polydeuces, Admetus, and Euphemus contended in the chariot race, Admetus and Mopsus in boxing, Jason and Peleus in wrestling, others in running and throwing the discus.

Medea overreached herself, at least in the later form of the story, in causing the death of Pelias, since it became necessary for her to leave Iolcus with her husband. In Corinth they found a home, but there too trouble awaited them. Jason, tiring of his passionate barbarian wife who had given up everything for love of him, won the affection of Glauce, daughter of the king of Corinth. The *Medea* of Euripides recounts the terrible vengeance of the disappointed wife. Pretending to accept the situation, she sent to Glauce a wedding present, a beautiful garment and wreath so poisoned that both daughter and father perished in great pain when Glauce put them on. Then, to fill completely Jason's cup of woe, she slew their two children in his presence and went off in a winged car to Athens. Jason, it is said, used to go each day to the hulk of the *Argo*, the token of the one real achievement of his life, till one day, as he was sleeping in its shadow, the rotting timbers fell and crushed him to death. Medea lived for a time as wife of Ægeus in Athens, but after the failure of her attempt to poison Theseus she finally disappeared and was heard of no more.

Æson. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 162; Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, V, i, 12; Pope, *Dunciad*, IV, 121.

Death of Pelias. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 298.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LEGEND OF TROY

1. The Heroes of the War.—The heroes of the Trojan war are placed one generation later than those who took part in the first expedition against Thebes, in the Calydonian boar hunt, in the Argonautic expedition, and in the destruction of Troy by Heracles. Some of them are connected with families the history of which has already been given; besides these there are three families that are best known for their connection with this war—the race of Dardanus, of Tantalus, and of Æacus.

(*a*) *The Descendants of Dardanus.*—Troy is the city of the race of Dardanus, who was said to be the son of Zeus and Electra.* The city was founded by Ilus, the grandson of Dardanus; its walls were built, as has been noted above,† for Laomedon, Ilus's son. After the reduction of the city by Heracles, it rapidly recovered itself, till under Laomedon's son Priam it became the head of a mighty empire including all the northwest part of Asia Minor. In the war with the Greeks Æneas is often mentioned and some of the leaders of the allies also played a prominent part; the other heroes are from the list of Priam's sons. Æneas himself came from the stock of Dardanus. Ilus had two brothers—Ganymedes, whom Zeus snatched away to be his cupbearer, and Assaracus, the grandfather of Anchises. It

* See Table III, following Index: The Descendants of Hellen.

† Page 330.

was the shepherd Anchises who won the love of Aphrodite herself and became the father of Æneas. The city of Troy might be described as an outpost of Greek civilization: the picture of Priam living with his fifty sons and fifty daughters in oriental magnificence is hardly Greek; the allies of Troy included the Amazons, the Thracians, and others whom the Greeks called barbarians; the distinctively Greek gods, Hera and Athena, were opposed to Troy, while Ares of Thrace and Aphrodite of Cyprus were on its side; still Hector was hardly less a Greek hero than Achilles, and in general the social and political institutions of Troy differed little from those of Mycene.

The fate of Troy is more tragic because it had been so favored by the gods: Zeus had found here his cupbearer, making good the loss to Ilus by the gift of wonderful horses; Aphrodite had deigned to become the wife of a mortal in the royal line; Hector was a special favorite of Apollo. After the city had been laid waste by Heracles, it rose as by magic to greater power than before. Yet Troy was not genuinely Greek; the greater the good fortune of Dardanus's line, so much the more complete and final was its overthrow.

(*b*) *The Race of Tantalus.*—This race also had its origin in Asia Minor; for Tantalus, son of Zeus and the nymph Pluto, lived on Mt. Sipylus near Sardis. Here Pelops and Niobe were born to him by his wife Dione. Here he lived in closest touch with the gods, eating and drinking with them and sharing their secrets. The fall of Tantalus from this happy estate is assigned to various causes. He is described now as a tyrant, who in Hades must live with a block of his native mountain always ready to crush him; now as a slave of appetite, who must reach out for food and drink, which vanish out of his range; now as blinded by pride, till he presents to the gods his own son for them to eat, believing as did Lycaon that they would not know what sort of flesh it is. Only a piece of Pelops's shoulder

had been consumed when the trick was detected; and the gods brought Pelops to life again, replacing the missing piece with the bit of ivory which marked the shoulders of his descendants also. The fate of Niobe who dared compare her children with those of Leto, has been told with the stories of Thebes. Pelops also went to Greece and by favor of the gods won Hippodameia for a wife. Her father, Œnomaüs, was wont to challenge all wooers to a chariot race in which he would slay them as his swift horses bore him past. Pelops obtained his horses from Poseidon, but Aphrodite helped him yet more; for through her devices Myrtilus was persuaded to leave out the pin which held in place the chariot wheel of Œnomaüs.* Thus Œnomaüs perished as so many of the suitors had perished at his hands; and Myrtilus, in spite of the aid he rendered was wantonly thrown into the sea by Pelops. Of Pelops himself we hear little more; his sons Atreus and Thyestes were driven out of Pisa because they had slain the son whom a nymph had borne to Pelops, and they are next heard of in Argolis.

FIG. 119.—COIN OF SYRACUSE (about 400 B. C.). Nike is seen floating above a victorious chariot (quadriga).

The quarrel between Atreus and Thyestes was fraught with evil for themselves and for their descendants. It seems that Thyestes conspired with the wife of Atreus to obtain the throne and would have succeeded but for the interference of Zeus. After some time spent in exile Thyestes returned seeking pardon from his brother. Atreus received the suppliant with marks of favor, but took vengeance on him by serving him his own son at dinner—that Thyestean banquet which led to the feud between

* The scene was represented on the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Agamemnon and Thyestes's son Ægisthus. The sons of Atreus, Agamemnon at Mycene and Menelaüs at Sparta, appear as powerful princes who easily take the lead of the Greek forces in the attack on Troy.

(*c*) *The Descendants of Æacus.*—At the same time the greatest heroes in actual fighting belong to the family of Æacus, the second great family represented on the Greek side. The nymph Ægina, daughter of the river Asopus, was seized by Zeus, who had assumed the form of an eagle, and carried to the island of Ægina. Their son Æacus grew up to be a king celebrated for his kindly, upright rule. In order that he might have a people Zeus made ants into men and called them Myrmidons. In time of drought Æacus had but to call on his father Zeus, and the needed rain would begin to fall. The two sons of Æacus, Telamon and Peleus, had proved their valor in the expedition of Heracles against Troy. At length they were forced to leave Ægina, for out of jealousy they had killed the son whom a local nymph had borne to Æacus. Telamon settled in the neighboring island of Salamis. Teucer, the great bowman of the Greek hosts, was his son by Hesione, the captured sister of Priam; his own wife, Peribœa of Megara, was the mother of Ajax. Ajax won renown in the war by his size and strength and determination. Standing with his great shield, he was attacked in vain by the Trojans, a veritable "tower of defense," as the Greeks called him. He lacked skill in offensive warfare, nor could he contribute anything to the counsels of the Greek hosts.

When Telamon fled to Salamis, Peleus returned to Thessaly, the land of his mother. Eurytion welcomed him and honored him with a third of his kingdom. Peleus married Polydora, daughter of Eurytion, who also was the mother of the hero Menestheus by the river god Spercheius. With Eurytion, Peleus joined in the hunt of the Calydonian boar. In this hunt he accidentally killed his father-in-law,

after which it was necessary for him to leave Phthia; and he took refuge in Iolcus. In the Argonautic expedition and in the funeral games of Pelias he won great renown. The wife of Acastus, king of Iolcus, sought in vain to win his love; when he honorably refused her, she made false accusations which led Acastus to plot his death. Peleus escaped by the aid of the centaur Cheiron, and slaying both Acastus and his wife he became king of Iolcus. It was then that the gods honored him by giving him the sea nymph Thetis to be his wife. Zeus himself had loved Thetis; but the warning of Prometheus had prevented their marriage, and it was decided to give her a mortal husband. Still Peleus must win his wife. By the advice of Cheiron he lay in wait for her in a grotto by the sea; and when he had succeeded in holding her in spite of her transformation into a lion, a serpent, and other forms, she accepted him as her husband. The marriage was celebrated on Mt. Pelion; all the gods were present with gifts for the pair—horses from Poseidon, a mighty lance from Cheiron, and from other gods the other weapons which Achilles was to bear before Troy. Eris (Strife) also came to the wedding with that apple marked "For the fairest," which was to occasion

FIG. 120.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (on a panathenaic amphora, about 400 B. C.).

Achilles is represented as a young warrior, wearing a corselet and carrying a spear.

the contest of beauty among the goddesses and in the end to bring about the Trojan war. The fruit of this marriage was Achilles, the embodiment of all that was noble in the Greek character. Thetis used to take her infant son to the shore of the sea by Pelion or even to the home of Nereus in its depths where he might converse with the sea nymphs. According to one account she anointed him with ambrosia by day and passed him through the fire at night to make him immortal; when Peleus interfered with her plan she left him to return to the sea nymphs, whereupon Achilles was turned over to the care of the centaur Cheiron. Here, like Jason before him, he grew up a child of nature, strong, swift, and fair, skilled in the hunt, skilled in the arts of healing and of music. Such a hero was the central theme of Greek epic poetry.

(*d*) *Diomedes and Odysseus.*—Two other heroes in the Trojan war are prominent enough to deserve special mention. One of the seven who fought against Thebes was the Ætolian Tydeus, the violent, headstrong brother of Meleager. His son Diomedes first won renown in the second expedition against Thebes. Fierce and bold like his father, he did not hesitate to fight even with the gods when he had the aid of Athena. If Odysseus represents Athena the goddess of wisdom, Diomedes is the favorite of Athena the war goddess. She helps him to overthrow Ares; under her guidance Diomedes and Odysseus carry off the Palladium from Troy; Athena conducts Diomedes safely home, and his shield is dedicated in her sanctuary at Argos.

Odysseus was the grandson of that Autolycus who excelled in thievery and deceit by the aid of Hermes. Those traits of cunning, endurance, and courage which were developed in the adventures of the Greek sailor found in him their fullest expression. Similarly the sea gods themselves were masters in cunning; for the dangers of the sea, encounters with pirates, and experience in trading de-

veloped that type of character in seamen. Nor was Odysseus lacking in eloquence; where the straightforward courage of Achilles failed, the stratagem of Odysseus succeeded, and Troy was captured.

Ganymede. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 155 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 28; Chaucer, *House of Fame*, II, 81; Milton, *Paradise Regained*, II, 353; Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*; Goethe, *Ganymedes* (trans. Bowring); Bulwer, *Ganymedes*; Tennyson, *The Palace of Art*

Priam. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 399 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, II, passim; Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, pt. iii, II, v, 120.
Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus and Creseide* (from Boccaccio); and Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*.

Tantalus. Pope, *Thebais*, I, 345; L. Morris, *Tantalus* (*Epic of Hades*).

Pelops. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 401; Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 7.

Peleus. Catullus, lxiv, trans. T. Martin; Landor, *Peleus and Thetis*.

Achilles. Chaucer, *House of Fame*, I, 398; Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 638; Ibid., *Henry VI*, pt. ii, V, i, 100; W. S. Landor, *Peleus and Thetis*; M. Arnold, *Empedocles on Etna*, I, ii (Song of Callicles).

Ajax. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XII, 624, XIII, 1 f.; Horace, *Odes*, II, iv, 5; Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, pt. ii, V, i, 26; Ibid., *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 7; Ibid., *King Lear*, II, ii, 132; George Crabbe, *The Village*.

Odysseus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 123 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, II, passim; Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, pt. iii, III, ii, 189; Ibid., *Coriolanus*, I, iii, 92; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 1019; Ibid., *Comus*, 637; Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, IV, 82; Ibid., *Argus*; Tennyson, *Ulysses*; S. Phillips, *Ulysses*.

Agamemnon. R. Browning, *Agamemnon*.

2. **The Cypria.**—The legend of the Trojan war was embodied in a series of epics centering about the *Iliad* and the

Odyssey. The occasion of the war and the events of the earlier years of the siege were told in the *Cypria*; the *Iliad* and the *Æthiopis* deal with episodes in the last year of the war; while the *Little Iliad* and the *Iliupersis* give the account of the final victory of the Greeks. The *Odyssey* and the *Nostoi* recount the events of the journey back to Greece.

The *Cypria*, which embodied the first part of the story, took shape long after the *Iliad*. The responsibility for the war was assigned to Zeus and Themis, who selected this means to check the overpopulation of Greece. Carrying out their plan, Eris started the contest of beauty between Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite.* Priam's son Paris was selected as the judge. Hera promised him a large empire, if he would give her the first place; Athena promised him success and renown in war; but he preferred the bribe of Aphrodite—the possession of the most beautiful woman in the world to be his wife. The destiny of Paris had been indicated before his birth, in a dream in which his mother saw a firebrand threatening Troy. The babe was exposed on the mountains to die; but a she-bear suckled him, shepherds brought him up to tend the flocks with them, and at length when he brought one of the herd to Troy his sister Cassandra, a prophetess, announced his identity. Before Paris abandoned his life with the shepherds, he had won the love of the nymph Œnone. Now that he had received the promise of Aphrodite, Œnone warned him of its baleful results, a warning which had no effect; nor did he see her again till he had received his death wound.

Under the guidance of Aphrodite, Paris sailed to Greece and became the guest of Menelaüs, the husband of Helen. Menelaüs was called away to Crete, and Helen's brothers, the Dioscuri, were busy in their contest with Idas and Lynceus; so it was no difficult task for Paris, trampling on all the

* See Fig. 7, page 53.

laws of hospitality, to carry off the wife of his host to Troy. Now Helen's father, Tyndareus, in fear of some such calamity, had bound the many suitors of Helen with an oath that all should assist the one she chose in case any wrong were done him. So Menelaüs, with the counsel of Nestor, set

FIG. 121.—MARBLE RELIEF IN NAPLES (third century B.C.?).
Aphrodite is seated beside Helen, and Peitho (Persuasion) above her; at the right Eros has his arm around Alexander (Paris).

out to gather an army to avenge the rape of Helen. Agamemnon brought the hosts of Mycene, Ajax came from Salamis, Diomedes from Argos, Nestor from Pylus; Odysseus was held to his oath by a device of the cunning Palamedes,*

*Odysseus feigned madness to escape the demand that he join the expedition, and plowed his fields without heeding the call; but when his infant son, Telemachus, was dropped before the plow, he revealed his sanity by turning aside from the child.

and Achilles also was brought from his young wife on the island of Scyrus.

When the hosts had gathered at Aulis, Zeus sent an omen, a serpent that devoured first the eight young in a sparrow's brood, then the mother herself—an omen, which signified the success of the war after ten years. The expedition went wrong at first, landing on the coast of Mysia whence it was driven by a storm back to Greece. Telephus,* who had been wounded in an encounter with the Greeks, learned that he could be healed only by the hand that had wounded him. Boldly appearing at the court of Agamemnon he seized his infant son, ready to slay him if his own request were not granted. When he had been healed, he undertook to lead the Greeks to their destination. Again they gathered at Aulis, and again they received a check; for Artemis in anger at the death of a sacred hind refused to let favoring winds blow. Only when Agamemnon had consented to sacrifice his daughter Iphigeneia could the Greeks proceed. At Lemnos, Philoctetes, who carried the bow of Heracles was bitten by a serpent; and the noisome wound caused his companions to leave him behind. Finally the Greeks reached Troy. With full knowledge that the first Greek who went ashore would perish, Protesilaüs leaped from the ships, by his death to win safety for his comrades; nor did the gods refuse the request of his young wife Laodameia that she might rejoin him in Hades.

The campaign proper was preceded by the embassy of Menelaüs and Odysseus to demand the return of Helen. When this request was denied, siege was laid to the city. Soon the Greeks proved their superiority, so that the Trojans were shut up within their walls; the Greeks then had opportunity for raids into the neighboring country in all directions. Thus the soldiers found occupation and

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* See Chapter X, page 275.

booty. At one time Æneas barely escaped Achilles; later the youngest son of Priam, the venturesome Troilus, was caught near a spring and killed. On the Trojan plain and in the raids Odysseus won renown, but the great reliance of the Greeks was Achilles. In time the Greeks became discouraged by the long delay. Palamedes led a party which advocated abandoning the siege; and they might have carried the day had not Odysseus and Diomedes succeeded in drowning Palamedes. Such is the state of affairs when the *Iliad* begins.

Judgment of Paris. Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 27; Tennyson, *Dream of Fair Women*; James Beattie, *Judgment of Paris*; J. S. Blackie, *Judgment of Paris.*

Paris and Œnone. Tennyson, *Œnone;* Ibid., *Death of Œnone*, W. Morris, *Death of Paris* (*Earthly Paradise*); W. S. Landor, *Death of Paris and Œnone.*

Rape of Helen. Virgil, *Æneid*, VII, 363; Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, pt. iii, II, ii, 146; Ibid., *All's Well that Ends Well*, I, iii, 75; Ibid., *Troilus and Cressida*, Prologue; Tennyson, *Dream of Fair Women*; A. Lang, *Helen of Troy.*

Iphigeneia. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XII, 24 f.; Boccaccio (translated by Dryden), *Cymon and Iphigenia*; W. B. Scott, *Iphigenia at Aulis*; W. S. Landor, *Iphigenia and Agamemnon*; E. Arnold, *Iphigenia*; Goethe, *Iphigenie auf Tauris.*

3. **The Iliad.**—The *Iliad* gives but one episode in the history of the war, an episode lasting only twenty-eight days and centered around the one theme of the wrath of Achilles. At the same time it is so handled as to give a picture of all the typical events of the war, with the single exception that it does not describe any of the raids into neighboring territory. The first book recounts the occasion of Achilles's wrath. The Trojans had been kept within the walls of the city while the Greek army gathered booty from the region round about. A priest, whose daughter Chryseïs

had been carried off and assigned to Agamemnon, came to the camp under the protection of his god to request the release of his daughter. And when he was treated with contumely he sought help from Apollo, who descended in

FIG. 122.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING BY HIERON (first half of the fifth century B. C.).

Above, Agamemnon is leading away Briseïs, the prize of Achilles; Hermes and Diomedes are following. Below, Ajax and Odysseus seek to persuade the seated Achilles to lay aside his wrath; the aged Phœnix leans on his staff at the right.

wrath to destroy the Greeks by a pestilence. In an assembly of the Greeks Achilles blamed Agamemnon for the trouble, and a violent quarrel ensued. At length Agamemnon returned to the priest his daughter, but took in compensation Briseïs, the prize of Achilles. Then Thetis

at her son's request persuaded Zeus to interfere to the end that the Greeks might keenly regret the withdrawal of Achilles from the field.

After the preparation for battle and the marshaling of the forces as described in *Book II*, the battle itself is the theme of the next five books. Before it has fairly begun,

FIG. 123.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (fifth century B.C.).
At the right is the grotesque figure of the common soldier Thersites; in the center Agamemnon; and at the left, Nestor (?). The story of Thersites's insult to Agamemnon as he marshals the host for battle is told in the second book of the *Iliad*.

a duel is proposed between the two husbands of Helen. A solemn truce is sworn; but the duel is not decisive, for when Paris is getting worsted Aphrodite carries him off. At Athena's suggestion a Trojan breaks the truce and wounds Menelaüs with an arrow. In the ensuing battle Diomedes by Athena's aid wins great renown, wounding even Aphrodite and Ares when they attempt to aid the Trojans. Hector, Priam's son, returns to get Paris and to bid the Trojans supplicate the aid of the gods. The meeting of

Diomedes with Glaucus, a guest-friend fighting on the Trojan side, and the scene in which Hector bids farewell to his wife Andromache and his son (*Book VI*) relieve the descriptions of battle. Another duel, between the mighty Ajax and Hector, the main defense of Troy, produces no definite results; and with a truce for the burial of the dead this first

FIG. 124.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (middle of the sixth century B.C.).

Hector in front of two horses (on one of which sits a boy Cebriones) is saying farewell to Andromache; at the left are Paris, Helen, and an unnamed man.

battle ends. Meantime the Greeks build a wall which now for the first time seems necessary to defend their camp.

The second day of battle without Achilles (*Book VIII*) sees the Greeks driven within their wall, while the Trojans bivouac at night in the plain. The embassy which Agamemnon sends with gifts to Achilles and with prayers that he return to his post, meets with failure. The only success for the Greeks is in a night attack in which Diomedes and Odysseus capture a Trojan spy and kill many of a band of Thracians that has recently come to aid the Trojans.

With *Book XI* begins the third day of battle, the description of which runs through eight books. The Greeks enter the battle with vigor, but Agamemnon, Diomedes, and Odysseus in turn retire wounded from the field. Hector at length succeeds in breaking the gates of the Greek camp,

and the Trojans are about to set fire to the ships when help comes. Hera had succeeded in putting Zeus to sleep so that Poseidon was free to aid his Greeks. But when Zeus wakes, Poseidon is recalled in disgrace, Apollo is sent to encourage the Trojans, till sweeping all before them they are again on the point of burning the Greek ships. The promise of Zeus to Thetis has been abundantly fulfilled. In their dire extremity Patroclus, the special friend of Achilles (*Book XVI*), obtains his permission to lead to the aid of their comrades in battle the Myrmidons, i. e., the contingent of Greek soldiers who had come to the war with Achilles. Terror now smites the Trojans; Patroclus pursues

FIG. 125.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (fifth century B. C.).

Odysseus is seated before the angry Achilles; the bearded man at the right is named Diomedes.

them even to the gates of Troy where, as Achilles had warned him, death was awaiting him. In the battle over the body of Patroclus (*Book XVII*), Hector strips the body of the armor Achilles had lent his friend, but the Greeks end this third great battle by carrying back to Achilles the body of his loved comrade. A pause is necessary while Achilles

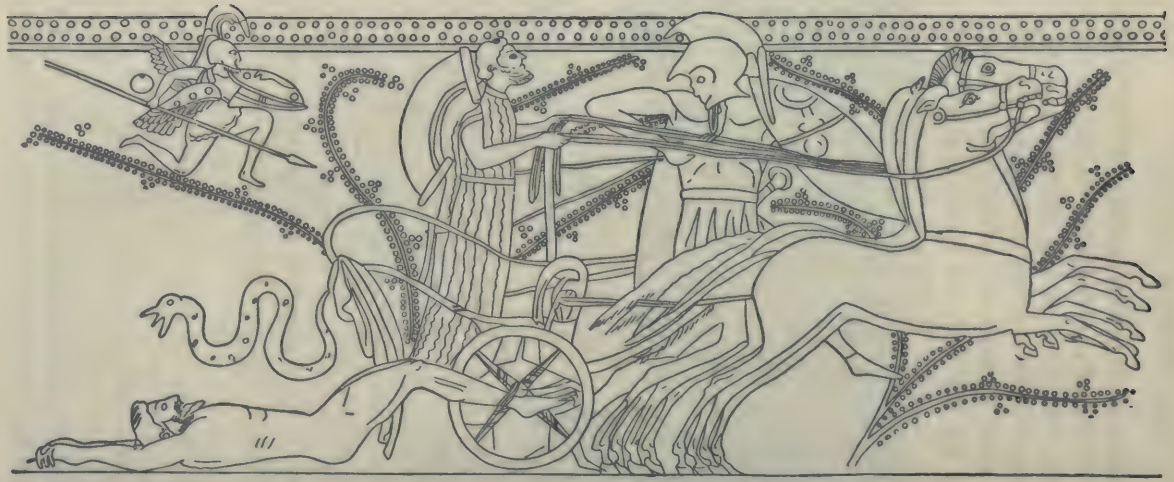

FIG. 126.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (sixth century B. C.).

At the left a serpent marks the grave of Patroclus, above which the small winged figure in armor represents his soul. The body of Hector is attached to the chariot of Achilles, which is driven by his charioteer Automedon; behind the horses is seen the figure of Achilles in armor.

mourns for Patroclus and becomes reconciled to Agamemnon that he may avenge the death of his friend; meantime Achilles is furnished with new armor which his mother Thetis obtains from Hephæstus.

With *Book XX* the fourth day of battle begins. At

FIG. 127.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (fifth century B. C.).

The aged Priam, followed by servants bearing gifts, has come to the couch of Achilles, beneath which lies the dead body of Hector; Achilles is turning away as though he would refuse the request of Priam. On the other side of the vase, represented below, are warriors conversing.

first the gods intervene on both sides with no decisive issue. Then Achilles comes to the front driving back the Trojans in hordes as had been his wont. The river Scamander, which opposed his course, is overcome with the aid of Hephæstus. Panic seizes even Hector; we see him pursued three times around the walls of Troy by Achilles, before the

latter has a chance to slay him. Then with the body of Hector dragging in the dust behind his chariot, the victorious Achilles returns to the camp. In *Book XXIII* we learn how Patroclus was buried with pomp and ceremony and funeral games. Priam obtains (*Book XXIV*) the body of Hector by appealing to Achilles's love for the aged Peleus, whom he is fated not to see again. Thus the story of Achilles's wrath ended with the burial of the two great leaders whose death it had occasioned, Patroclus on the Greek side and Hector on the Trojan.

Wrath of Achilles. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IX, 14:

> "... the wrath
> Of stern Achilles on his foe pursu'd
> Thrice fugitive about Troy wall."

Diomedes. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 100 f.; Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida* passim.

Nestor. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 63; Shakespeare, *Rape of Lucrece*, 1401; Ibid., *Henry VI*, pt. iii, III, ii, 188.

Hector. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XII, 591; XIII passim; Virgil, *Æneid*, II, 270 and passim; Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 537; Ibid., *Henry VI*, pt. iii, IV, viii, 25; Schiller, *Hektors Abschied*, trans. C. T. Brooks; E. B. Browning, *Hector and Andromache*.

4. **The Æthiopis,** the authorship of which is credited to Arctinus of Miletus, describes the next few weeks of the war, from the death of Hector to the death of Achilles. The dependence of the Greeks on Achilles, before whom none of the Trojans can stand, is again the poet's theme. Before the mourning for Hector is ended, new hope is revived in Troy by the arrival of the Amazons to their aid. These allies enable the Trojans to drive back the Greeks until Achilles is roused to action. In one victorious onset the hero sweeps back the enemy and mortally wounds the

queen of the Amazons, Penthesileia. Then first he perceives her beauty. He supports her dying head, nor does he hesitate to give up her body for burial; and when the overbold Thersites reproaches him, one blow from the fist of Achilles ends his life.

FIG. 128.—ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING BY EXEKIAS (about 500 B. C.). Achilles is slaying the crouching Penthesileia.

Yet one more worthy antagonist of Achilles appears to help the Trojans—the son of a goddess, a warrior whose armor was made by Hephæstus, Memnon from Ethiopia. Inasmuch as his death is to be the last of Achilles's achievements, Thetis seeks to keep her son out of his way. But the conflict is inevitable; when Nestor himself has been saved from Memnon's hand only by the death of Antilochus, the special friend of Achilles, the latter can no

longer be held in check. Vase painters were fond of picturing the two goddess mothers, Thetis and Eos, pleading with Zeus for the safety of their respective sons, as the battle proceeded. But the scales in the hand of the god* bent with the heavy fate of Memnon, while the doom of Achilles was already sealed. Eos carries her son's body back to Ethiopia for burial; Achilles presses on with the fury of battle to the very gates of Troy, till where Patroclus had fallen, there he falls, mortally wounded by the arrow of Paris. For hours the battle rages over his body. Zeus finally interferes with a wind that forces the combatants to cease, and Ajax bears back to the camp the body of Achilles. For seventeen days the mourning continues. Then the body of Achilles is burned; his ashes are buried with those of Patroclus in a hill by the Hellespont, while his spirit becomes the hero of the island of Leucas. In the funeral games, even more splendid than those celebrated for Patroclus,† Thetis offers the arms of Achilles as prize to the bravest. The cunning Odysseus wins them from the stalwart Ajax; and the story ends with the death of Ajax by his own hand as the result of this blow to his pride.

Penthesileia. Virgil, *Æneid*, I, 490; XI, 662.
Memnon. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 576 f.

5. **The Fall of Troy.**—The story of the fall of Troy was told in two epics which overlapped each other in subject, the *Little Iliad* of Lesches and the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. The story of the sacking of the city was told in the latter, which was written before the *Little Iliad*; the former gave the events which immediately preceded the city's fall. After the death of Ajax, Odysseus succeeded in entrapping the Trojan seer Helenus, from whom it was learned that the bow of Heracles was necessary to the capture of the city.

* Cf. Fig. 8, page 61.

† *Iliad*, XVIII.

The owner of the bow, Philoctetes, was brought from the island of Lemnos by Diomedes (or Odysseus); the wound which had caused him to be left behind was healed by Machaon; then in a duel with Paris he inflicted a death wound on the man who had been the cause of the whole war. Helen, who could not be conceived as without a husband, married Deïphobus, a brother of Paris. Nor could Troy be captured without the son of Achilles, so that Odysseus must go to Scyrus to summon him. Neoptolemus came gladly, and putting on the armor of his father vanquished all who tried to stand against him.

FIG. 129.—ENGRAVED GEM.
The Greek heroes are descending from the wooden horse within the city of Troy.

The conditions for the fall of the city had now all been met. After the death of Achilles, moreover, there was none to dispute the plan of Odysseus to capture the city by stratagem. But before the experiment of the wooden horse was actually tried, Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, made his way into the city to ascertain what forces they would be obliged to overcome. Only Helen recognized him, and she kept his secret faithfully. Successful on this first expedition, Odysseus went again with Diomedes; and they captured the Palladium or protecting guardian of the city, and again escaped the enemy. When the wooden horse was completed, a few of the heroes entered this

structure and shut themselves in, while the remaining Greeks departed for Tenedos as if they had given up the

FIG. 130.—MARBLE GROUP BY AGESANDER, AND HIS SONS POLYDORUS AND ATHENODORUS OF RHODES (second century B. C.).

Laocoön and his sons attacked by serpents; the son on the left seems to be already dying, while the one on the right might almost escape from the toils but for his interest in his father's sufferings.

hope of capturing Troy. The horse was the subject of various conjectures by the Trojans. Æneas and Laocoön wished to destroy it as the source of possible danger; they

were overruled, and it was brought into the city through a hole cut in the wall—for it was too large to get through the gates—and the city was given over to feasting and joy. Meantime serpents had attacked Laocoön, who proposed to destroy the horse, killing him and his sons. At this warning Æneas withdrew from Troy to Dardania in the mountains. No one remained on the watch to protect the city. Then Sinon gave the signal for the Greeks to return from Tenedos, and the heroes issuing from the wooden horse found no one ready to oppose them. The banquet rooms became wild scenes of murder and rapine. Neoptolemus slew the aged Priam by the altar in his palace; Menelaüs and Odysseus overcame Deïphobus, and Helen was only saved from death at the hands of Menelaüs because the sight of her beauty changed his purpose; the lesser Ajax tore Cassandra from the shrine of Athena with such violence as to knock it over; by the advice of Odysseus the infant son of Hector was thrown over the wall to perish; before the eyes of the aged Hecuba (Priam's wife) her son Polydorus was slain and her daughter Polyxena sacrificed on the grave of Achilles. Such was the fall of Troy.

Fig. 131.—Coin of Julius Cæsar.

Æneas is carrying the statue of Athena (Palladium) in his right hand, and Anchises on his left arm.

Laocoön. L. Morris, *Laocoön (The Epic of Hades)*.

Cassandra. Chaucer, *Troilus and Creseide*; Schiller, *Kassandra* (translated by Bulwer); W. M. Praed, *Cassandra*; D. G. Rossetti, *Cassandra*; W. W. Story, *Cassandra*.

Sinon. Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, pt. iii, III, ii, 190; *Titus Andronicus*, V, iii, 85.

Polyxena. W. S. Landor, *The Espousals of Polyxena*.

6. **The Nostoi.**—There remains to be considered the second type of epic, that which deals with the return of

the heroes of Troy. The *Nostoi*, including the *Odyssey*, deal with adventures on the sea, visits to strange lands and strange peoples, the return to realms disordered by the long absence of their rulers. All the wealth of the Greek geographical imagination was brought into play to enrich these poems. The typical hero of the Greek sailor was Odysseus, whose return was the first to be sung in one of these epics of adventure. It is the person of the hero rather than any single theme which makes the *Odyssey* one poem; the very variety of the stories gathering about him constitutes part of its charm. In later *Nostoi* similar accounts were given of the return of Ajax, and in particular of the Atreidæ. But the age of colonization and real geographical knowledge had checked the imagination. It is no longer the adventures of the hero, in these later epics, but rather local tales of the spots visited, that furnish the content for the poems.

The story of the return of Menelaüs and Agamemnon is known partly from the *Odyssey*, partly from later literature; for the epics which had this as their theme have long since perished. It seems that Athena, the patron saint of the Greeks, was deeply offended at the treatment of the shrines and sacred places of Troy when the city was sacked. Deserted by their guiding genius, the Greeks held an irregular assembly one evening after a day of drinking and carousal. Two plans were proposed, in the support of which the leaders were fatally divided. Agamemnon, with Ajax and a few others, thought it wisest to remain till the anger of Athena had been pacified; his brother Menelaüs, with a larger party, was eager to set out at once on the return. So early the next morning Menelaüs and his followers set sail for Tenedos, where a new quarrel arose. Odysseus with soberer judgment returned to Agamemnon; the rest sailed for home. After a prosperous voyage Diomedes arrived in Argos, Nestor in Pylus, each with their

attendant soldiers. The death of Phrontes, the helmsman of Menelaüs, delayed his fleet at Sunium; after the burial of Phrontes they proceeded, only to be caught in a storm near Cape Malea which scattered the ships and wrecked many of them. Menelaüs with only five ships reached a Cretan harbor after the storm. In seven years of travel and adventure he visited Cyprus, Phœnicia, Ethiopia, Libya, and Egypt; as the *Odyssey* was an epic of the West, so this story furnished the theme for an epic of the East. Near Egypt, Menelaüs was long delayed by contrary winds till on the island of Pharos he learned from Proteus of a sacrifice he should have performed to the gods of the Nile. This sacrifice completed, he speedily arrived at his home in Sparta—on the very day * when Orestes was celebrating the funeral feast for Clytemnestra and her paramour Ægisthus. The *Odyssey* describes the life of Helen and Menelaüs in Sparta after their return and indicates the end that awaited them, not death but translation to the Isles of the Blessed.

The return of Agamemnon, which was treated in the *Nostoi* of Agias, was delayed by his purpose to propitiate Athena. As he slept on the Trojan coast, the spirit of Achilles appeared to him to warn him of his fate. When the fleet set sail they were soon met by a storm that scattered their ships. Odysseus and his party were separated from the others. Ajax who had committed sacrilege in snatching Cassandra from Athena's image was wrecked on the island of Eubœa, having been misled by false signals from the coast. Even he might have been saved himself, though all his comrades were lost, for the waves left him high up on a jutting rock; but he boasted of his power to escape Poseidon's wrath, whereupon that god by a blow of his trident dashed into pieces the rock on which he sat and caused him to be drowned.

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* *Odyssey*, III, 312.

The fate of Agamemnon is known to us in two slightly different versions: According to the *Odyssey* Ægisthus, his cousin, was the prime mover against the absent king. After some delay Clytemnestra yielded to his solicitation and was induced to come to the palace of Ægisthus. On the return of Agamemnon, Ægisthus invited him to a banquet, slew him by means of twenty men that had been placed in ambush, and reigned seven years more with Clytemnestra. The queen herself had been a spectator at her husband's death and had with her own hands slain Cassandra whom Agamemnon brought home with him. In due time Orestes, her son, appeared to slay both the usurping king and the unnatural mother.

The second version of the story, as it was current in later time, emphasized the reasons why both Ægisthus and Clytemnestra turned against Agamemnon. Ægisthus wished to avenge the wrong done his father by Atreus, Agamemnon's father; Clytemnestra could not forgive her husband for the sacrifice of Iphigeneia as the host was setting out for Troy. It was Clytemnestra herself, according to this version, who welcomed her husband with treacherous embrace, led him to the bath, and slew him with her own hands. After many years Orestes, who had been carried off to safety when his father was killed, returned with his intimate friend Pylades to take vengeance on the guilty pair. Even though he had the sanction of the Delphic oracle for slaying his mother, the awful fact of matricide remained. It was not till he had long been pursued by the Erinyes of his dead mother that he was finally purified from the taint of kindred blood. Such was the story that called out the highest powers of the three great tragedians of Athens.*

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* Æschylus, *Agamemnon, Choëphori, Eumenides*; Sophocles, *Electra*; Euripides, *Electra, Orestes, Iphigenia in Tauris.*

Clytemnestra. W. S. Landor, *The Death of Clytemnestra*; L. Morris, *Clytemnestra* (*Epic of Hades*).

Orestes and Electra. Byron, *Childe Harold*, IV, cxxxii; Milton, *Sonnet VIII*.

7. **The Odyssey.**—The earliest of the *Nostoi*, and the only one extant, is the *Odyssey*, the story of ten years on the sea, as the *Iliad* told of a war that lasted ten years in all. The *Odyssey* is divided into two almost equal parts, the first dealing with the wanderings of Odysseus, the second with his successful overthrow of the Ithacan nobles who had been wooing Penelope. Again, the first half falls into three divisions: (1) the journey of Telemachus for news of his father; (2) the escape of Odysseus from Calypso's isle, and his reception by the Phæacians who are to send him home; and (3) the story of his earlier wanderings as it is told to the Phæacians. That each division consists of four books is probably an accident.

FIG. 132.—RED-FIGURED AMPHORA FROM APULIA (late fourth century B. C.).
Telemachus is receiving parting gifts from the aged Nestor.

In an assembly of the gods (I–IV) Athena complained of the detention of Odysseus, with the result that Zeus sent her to secure his freedom. First, however, she visited Ithaca, the home of Odysseus, stirring up in Telemachus thoughts of his father, and suggesting that he go in search of him. The narrative recounts the assembly in which

Telemachus made his plea in vain, the preparation of a vessel by Athena's aid, then the journey to Pylus and overland to Sparta. In Pylus, Nestor entertained Telemachus and his divine companion, but Nestor could tell almost nothing of Odysseus. When Nestor realized that the attendant of his guest was Athena, he offered splendid

FIG. 133.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (fifth century B. C.).

Telemachus with two spears stands beside Penelope, who is seated in a despondent attitude; in the background is her loom with the partly woven shroud for Laërtes.

sacrifice to the goddess; Telemachus he sent on to Menelaüs in Sparta. The picture of Helen and Menelaüs living happily at home forms a striking contrast to the state of affairs in the *Iliad*, a contrast also to the confusion still reigning in the palace of Odysseus. From Menelaüs, Telemachus learned something of his father; he learned more of the delays Menelaüs had met with, and of the sad end of Agamemnon. In the meantime the condition of affairs at the palace in Ithaca was such as to demand the return of Odysseus. His continued absence could hardly be explained ex-

cept on the supposition that he was dead; so nobles from Ithaca and elsewhere brought suit for the hand of the fair Penelope. These suitors she put off for three years on pretense of weaving a shroud for the aged Laërtes, Odysseus's father; then, in order to gain time, what she had woven during the day she unraveled at night. The nobles were enraged at this deception when they discovered it, and gathering each day to press their suit they sadly wasted the property of Odysseus by reckless feasting.

Book V describes a council of the gods in which the case of Odysseus is brought up as if for the first time. Hermes is sent to command Calypso, a nymph who was detaining Odysseus, to let him go. Odysseus receives the permission with suspicion and incredulity, but soon sets out to manufacture his raft. He is subject to one more blow at the hands of opposing gods; just as he is in sight of his journey's end, Poseidon dashes his raft to pieces by a storm and leaves him in the waves to perish. By the aid of a sea goddess he barely reaches the shore in a state of great exhaustion. As he sleeps in a thicket protected by a heap of leaves, Athena is planning for his safety. The fair daughter of the Phæacian king Alcinoüs, Nausicaä by name, with her handmaidens, comes to the river to wash her garments (*Book VIII*). In due time, as they are playing ball after their work, Athena causes Odysseus to be wakened by the carelessly thrown ball. Nausicaä provides him with proper raiment and indicates how he may reach her father's house. The home of Alcinoüs is only less interesting than that of Menelaüs; here, as there, the wife is the more potent factor. As a suppliant Odysseus finds welcome, entertainment, and the promise of a speedy return to his home; at the same time he is enriched by many gifts. In athletic games he exhibits his prowess, then after dinner the recital of his wanderings proves to Alcinoüs more interesting even than the songs of the bard.

After the reader has learned of Ithaca and Telemachus, and has been made acquainted with the patient, resourceful Odysseus, he is prepared for the story of his wanderings (*Books IX–XII*). His adventure with the Ciconians, when some of his comrades are lost in battle; the visit to the

FIG. 134.—(*a*) ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (fifth century B. C.). Odysseus and his companions are escaping from the cave of Polyphemus beneath the bodies of his rams.

(*b*) ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (about 500 B. C.). Odysseus or one of his companions beneath a ram.

lotus eaters, from whom he takes his followers by force when they wish to stay and enjoy the lotus; and the experience with the Cyclops, Polyphemus, occupy one book. It was the hope of gifts which led Odysseus to await the return of the Cyclops with his flocks. Then the party was shut up in a cave, to be devoured two and two by the monster; the wiles of Odysseus enabled him first to blind Polyphemus, then to get his companions out by fastening them under the thick-fleeced sheep. His next adventure

after this escape began auspiciously. By the kindness of Æolus, king of the winds, all contrary winds were restrained in bags. The fleet had almost reached Ithaca when greed and curiosity induced his companions to open the bags; and the winds, now let loose, drove them clear back to the island of Æolus. Setting out again they came to the land of the Læstrygones — giants, who destroyed all the ships but that of Odysseus, men and all; nor would Odysseus have escaped except for his extra caution. The tenth book concludes with the story of Odysseus and Circe. The first band of his companions, turned into swine by the magic of Circe, were not deserted by their leader; by the aid of Hermes, Odysseus withstood her arts and forced her to restore them to human form. From Circe, Odysseus learned that he must consult the soul of Teiresias in Hades as to the means of reaching home. So he sailed to the far west, and evoked the souls of the dead by pouring out a libation of blood. From Teiresias he learned what difficulties awaited him and how to avoid them. Then he conversed with the souls of his mother, of the famous women of old, of Agamemnon and those other Trojan heroes who had died; till the horrors of

FIG. 135.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (fourth century B. C.).
Odysseus with his sword threatens Circe, who has turned one of his comrades (partially) into a hog.

Hades frightened away even the intrepid Odysseus. Following the directions of Teiresias, Odysseus stuffed with wax the ears of his comrades and had himself bound securely to the mast of his ship, the first mortal to hear the song of the Sirens without succumbing to its fatal charm. Avoiding

FIG. 136.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (fifth century B.C.).
Odysseus is bound to the mast of his vessel, unable to move, and his comrades cannot hear the Sirens' song; in chagrin one of the Sirens has already thrown herself down into the sea.

the whirlpool of Charybdis, he must see six comrades devoured by the six heads of the monster Scylla. Then, when they were detained by contrary winds, his companions sealed their doom by slaying and eating the cattle of Helios. Hardly had they set out again when a storm destroyed their ship, and Odysseus alone was brought by the waves to the island of Calypso.

The last half of the *Odyssey*, like the first half, falls into three approximately equal divisions: (1) The Phæacians by gift of the gods (*Books XIII–XVI*) were able in one night to bring the hero to Ithaca. After storing his

treasure in the cave of the nymphs he sought out the swineherd Eumæus, who gladly entertained the stranger, though he failed to recognize him as the master whose return he so longed to see. To the hut of Eumæus, Athena brought Telemachus on his return from Sparta; and in the absence of Eumæus on an errand to the city the father made himself known to his son. (2) Disguised as a beggar (*Books XVII–XX*) Odysseus was led to his palace; none but his old dog Argus recognized him. When the suitors treated him with uncalled-for roughness, Telemachus did

Fig. 137.—Terra Cotta Relief in the Museo Kircheriano.

Odysseus claps his hand on the mouth of the nurse Eurycleia to prevent her from disclosing his identity, and looks back toward the swineherd Eumæus; beside him is his dog Argus.

not interfere, even though Penelope bade him to, in order that the disguised king might see to the full the wickedness of the suitors. In the evening Penelope was deeply moved by the story of the stranger, though she had no suspicion as to who he was. And when the old nurse Eurycleia who washed

his feet found a familiar scar and was about to hail her master, he sternly bade her keep his secret. (3) At length (*Books XXI–XXIV*) the time came for his vengeance. On the occasion of a feast of Apollo, Penelope brought out the

FIG. 138.—ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING (in the style of Polygnotus, fifth century B. C.).

Above, two of the women stand behind Odysseus who is drawing his bow; below (i. e., on the other side of the vase) are suitors, struck by the arrows and trying to protect themselves.

bow of Odysseus to decide the wooing by a contest of skill. None could even bend the bow till the stranger in the guise of a beggar got hold of it. For Odysseus to string the bow and shoot through the line of double axes was no difficult task. Declaring his identity, he turned the arrows on the suitors. Telemachus with two faithful servants

came to his side; in the scene of carnage that followed, there was no cessation till all the suitors had been killed together with the servants that had aided them. Even then Penelope was slow to acknowledge her lord, but a knowledge of Odysseus's bed, carved from the trunk of a tree, convinced her that she was not deceived. The next day Odysseus made himself known to his aged father Laërtes. The parents and friends of the dead suitors came in arms to requite their death, but Athena interfered to restore peace on the island. So ended the story of the return of Odysseus.

Calypso. Ovid, *Amores*, II, xvii, 15; Pope, *Moral Essays*, II, 45; Byron, *Childe Harold*, II, xxix:

> "But not in silence pass Calypso's isles."

Alcinoüs. Virgil, *Georgics*, II, 87; Horace, *Epistles*, I, ii, 28 f.

Lotus Eaters. Tennyson, *The Lotos Eaters*.

Cyclopes; Polyphemus. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 750 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 641; John Gay, *Acis and Galatea*; A. Dobson, *A Tale of Polypheme*.

Læstrygones. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIV, 233.

Circe. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIV, 1 f.; Virgil, *Æneid*, VII, 10 f.; Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 1086; Milton, *Comus*, 50 et passim; Keats, *Endymion*, III, 619; M. Arnold, *The Strayed Reveller*; D. G. Rossetti, *The Wine of Circe*; A. Dobson, *The Prayer of the Swine to Circe*.

Sirens. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V, 551; Milton, *Comus*, 878; *Arcades*, 63; Shakespeare, *Sonnet* cxix; D. G. Rossetti, *Sea Spell*.

Argus. Pope, *Argus*.

Penelope. Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 15; Spenser, *Sonnet* xxiii:

> "Penelope, for her Ulisses sake,
> Deviz'd a Web her wooers to deceave;
> In which the worke that she all day did make,

The same at night she did again unreave:
Such subtile craft my Damzell doth conceave . . . .
For all that I in many dayes doo weave,
In one short hour I find by her undonne."

Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, I, iii, 92; R. Buchanan, *Penelope*; W. S. Landor, *Penelope and Pheido*.

INDEX

In this index the pronunciation of proper names is indicated. The following suggestions may prove useful to those unacquainted with the subject.

1. The vowel in the accented syllable is long (**ā** as in *lāte*, **ē** as in *seen*, **ī** as in *bīte*) when the accented syllable ends in a vowel, e. g., *Abdē′rus*. When the accented syllable is marked as ending with a consonant, the vowel in it is short, e. g., *Acās′ te*.

2. The combinations **æ, ai, au, ei, eu, œ, oi, ou,** are to be pronounced as diphthongs, except when the diæresis is used; but **i** between two vowels is pronounced as **y**, e. g., *Antē′ ia* (*Antē′ ya*).

3. Final **e** is regularly pronounced, e. g., *Admē′ te*.

4. **C** and **g** are regularly soft (pronounced like **s** and **j**) before **e, i, y, æ, ei,** and **œ**; **ch** is hard (like **k**).

5. The syllable which receives the accent is determined by the Latin rule—namely, that the penult receives the accent if the vowel is long or if the vowel is followed by two consonants (except a mute and a liquid); otherwise the antepenult is accented.

Abde′rus, 323
Acar′nan, 293
Acas′tus, 352, 363
Ac′ca Laren′tia, 337
Achæ′us, 87, 309
Achelo′üs, 3, 333
Ach′eron, 231, 233
Achil′les, 56, 60, 364, 368
  arms of, 47
  death of, 378
Acris′ius, 261, 263
Actæ′on, 9, 168, 285 (see Fig. 91, p. 286)
Ac′tor, 56, 332
Adme′te, 323
Adme′tus, 127, 311, 349, 352
Ado′nis, 206
Adras′tus, 158, 290, 293
Æ′a, 347, 355
Æ′acus, 79, 94, 227, 331, 362
Aĕ′don, 283
Æe′tes, 348
Æ′gæ, 55
Æ′geus, 309, 338 f.
Ægi′aleus, 258
Ægi′na (nymph), 79, 94, 148, 269, 362
æ′gis, 117, 265
Ægis′thus, 362, 384
Ægyp′tus, 94, 259
  sons of, 261
Æne′ās, 50, 53, 63, 210, 254

Æne′ ās, visit to the dead, 233
Æ′ olus, 59, 87, 169, 269, 347, 389
Æscula′ pius, 224 (see Asclepius)
Æ′ son, 349
Æthi′ opis, the, 376
Æ′ thra, 339
Æto′ lia, myths of, 309
Agamem′ non, 60, 362, 367, 370, 382 f.
  death of, 384
Aga′ ve, 186, 285
Age′ nor, 283, 294
ages, the four, 83
Aglai′ a, 105, 218
Aglau′ rus, 305
Ai′ sa, 40
A′ jax (son of Tel′ amon), 60, 362, 367, 372, 378
A′ jax (son of Oï′ leus), 381, 383
Alalcom′ eneus, 78
Al′ ba Lon′ ga, 255
Alba′ nus, Mons, 99
Alcæ′ us, 267
Alces′ tis, 349
Alcin′ oüs, 387
Alcip′ pe, 305
Alcmæ′ on, 293
Alcme′ ne, 93, 267
A′ leüs, 274
Al′ ope, 342
Alphe′ ius, 57, 148
Althæ′ a, 311, 312
Amalthe′ ia, 92, 147
Am′ azons, 28, 214, 271, 344, 376
ambrosia, 37, 38
A′ mor (see Eros)
Amphiara′ us, 129, 290 f.
Amphictyon′ ic assembly, 174
Amphi′ on, 93, 281
Amphitri′ te, 56, 150, 155
Amphit′ ryon, 267
Amu′ lius, 255
Am′ yclæ, 276
Am′ ycus, 79, 354
Amytha′ on, 349
Anaï′ ta (or Anai′ ta), 132
Ancæ′ us, 311
Anchi′ ses, 210, 233, 360
Andro′ geös, 297, 343
Androm′ ache, 372
Androm′ eda, 266
animism, 2, 11
Antæ′ us, 325
Ante′ ia, 261, 271, 272
Antheste′ ria, 188, 201
Antig′ one, 292
Antil′ ochus, 55, 377
Anti′ ope (of Thebes), 93, 281
Anti′ ope (queen of the Amazons), 344
Aph′ areus, 275, 277
Aphrodi′ te, 51, 67, 133, 205 f.
  goddess of sailors, 207
  loves of, 210
  Pande′ mos, 211
  Ura′ nia, 211
  wife of Hephæstus, 218
  in art, 213 (see also Fig. 60, p. 209)
Apol′ lo, 12, 14, 48, 122 f., 330, 349
  birth of, 34, 48, 120
  epithets of, 126, 128
  Mousage′ tes, 105
  Phœ′ bus (sun god), 126
  servitude of, 15, 349
  in art, 29, 129 (Fig. 29), 131
Apsyr′ tus, 356
Arach′ ne, 111
Ar′ ai, 239
Arca′ dia, myths of, 273
Ar′ cas, 94, 165, 274
Arcti′ nus, 376, 378
Areop′ agus, 214, 305
A′ res, 54, 107, 115, 213 f.
  in art, 217 (see also Fig. 62, p 215)
Arethu′ sa, 147 (Fig. 36), 148

Ar′ges, 67
Ar′go, 111, 353
Ar′gonauts, 351
Ar′gos, myths of, 45, 257
Ar′gus Panop′tes, 9, 258
Ar′gus (son of Phrixus), 348, 353
Ar′gus (dog of Odysseus), 391
Ariad′ne, 185, 190, 210, 296, 298
Arei′on, 158
Aristæ′us, 127, 168, 285
Ar′temis, 16, 49, 132, 349, 368
  bear sacred to, 16, 133
  birth of, 34, 120
  Brauro′nia, 16, 133
  epithets of, 136
  goddess of wild beasts, 23 note, 50, 133
  moon goddess, 137
  in art, 135 (Fig. 32), 136 (Fig. 33), 137
Asca′nius, 255
Ascle′pius, 130, 222 f.
  temple of, Fig. 67 (p. 222)
  in art, 224 (see also Fig. 66, p. 221, and Fig. 68, p. 223)
Aso′pus, 147, 269, 281, 362
Assar′acus, 359
Astar′te, 206
Asteropæ′us, 57
Astræ′us, 166
Asty′oche, 55
Atalan′te, 133, 275, 311 f.
A′te (*ah′ tay*), 268
Ath′amas, 17, 150, 347 f.
Athe′na, 12, 17, 45 f., 54, 110 f., 382
  birth of, 45, 92, 110
  contest with Poseidon, 113, 304
  Ergan′e, 111
  Hygie′ia, 29, 111
  marriage of, 28
  Par′thenos, 29
Athe′na, patron of handicrafts, 46, 111
Athe′na, patron of Heracles, 314
  patron of Odysseus, 46, 385 f.
  Po′lias, 116
  in art, 117 (see also Figs. 22, 24, and 25)
At′las, 3 (Fig. 1), 68, 327
A′treus, 361
At′ropos, 350
At′tica, myths of, 302
At′tis, 143
Au′ge, 274
Auge′an stables, 322
Auge′as, 322, 332
Aul′is, 368
Aur′a, 307
Auro′ra (see Eos), 161
Autol′ycus, 197, 364
Auton′oë, 168, 285
Aux′o, 104
Aventi′nus, 337
Aver′nus, Lake, 231, 233, 337
Ax′ius, 57

Bacchan′tes, 193
Bac′chus (see Dionysus), 183
Bacon, Sir F., 10
bears, 2, 16, 133
Bear, The Great, 164, 274
Beller′ophon, 270
Bello′na, 253
Ben′dis, 133
Bi′as, 262
birds, 99
  the Stymphalian, 322
Bo′na De′a, 248
Bo′reas, 8, 60, 169, 308
Bos′porus, 259, 354
Brau′ron, see Artemis Brauronia
Bria′reüs, 43, 56, 67
Brise′is, 370
Britomar′tis (Artemis), 301
Bron′tes, 67
bull, the Cretan, 322
bull, of Marathon, 153

Busi′ris, 326
Bu′tes, 210, 303

Ca′cus, 325, 337
Cad′mus, 283 f.
cadu′ceŭs (Kerykeion), 199, 201
Caï′cus, 147
Cal′aïs, 308, 353, 354
Cal′chas, 90
Calli′ope, 106
Callis′to, 16, 94, 133, 165, 274
Calydo′nian boar, 50, 134, 309, 310 (Fig. 100)
Calyp′so, 58, 387, 390
Came′ne, 253
Cami′se (Camese, Camese′ne), 247
Canens, 247
Car′dea, 246
Carmen′ta, 253
Car′na, 253
Car′po, 104, 170
Cassan′dra, 129, 366, 381, 384
Cassiope′ia, 266
Cas′tor, 277, 278 f., 311, 353
Ca′treus, 296, 300
Cau′casus, 326
Ce′crops, 78, 302 f.
Cen′taurs, 28, 33
  battle with the Lapiths, 345
Ceph′alus, 162, 166, 209, 305 f.
Ce′pheus, 274, 332
Cephi′sus, 147
Cer′berus, 51, 230, 242, 327
Cerco′pes, 330
Cer′cyon, 342
Ce′res, 175
Ceryn′ian doe, 321
Ce′ryx, 305
Ce′to, 149, 264
Ce′yx, 333
Char′ites, 93, 104
Cha′ron, 231, 233
Cha′run, 238
Charyb′dis, 390
Chei′ron, 79, 223, 350, 364
Chimæ′ra, 271, 272
Chio′ne, 308
Chlo′ris, 170
Chrysa′or, 265
Chryse′ïs, 369
Chry′ses, 50
Cico′nians, 388
Ci′lix, 283
Cin′yras, 210
Cir′ce, 58, 389
Cithæ′ron, Mt., 281, 317
Clei′tus, 162
Clemen′tia, 254
Cleopa′tra (wife of Phineus), 308
Cli′o, 106
Clo′tho, 350
Clym′ene, 161
Clytemnes′tra, 277, 384
Co′calus, 300
Cocy′tus, 231
Cœ′us, 66
Col′chis, 355
Concor′dia, 254
Conti, N., 9
Consi′va (see Ops), 250
Consua′lia, 250
Con′sus, 250
Corinth, myths of, 268
Coro′nis, 127, 223
Coryban′tes, 145
Cot′tus, 67
Cran′aüs, 303, 304
creation of man, 78 f.
Crei′us, 66
Cre′on, 289, 292
Cretan bull, 322
Crete, myths of, 294
Cre′theus, 347, 349
Creü′sa, 303, 308
Crommyo′nian sow, 340
Cro′nus, 5, 9, 15, 33, 41, 55, 68 f. (see also Fig. 9)

Cu′ mæ, 231, 337
Cupid, 211 (see Eros)
Cure′ tes, 15, 69, 92 (Fig. 16), 143
Cyb′ ele, 143 (see Rhea-Cybele)
Cyclo′ pes, 66, 67, 70, 151
Cyc′ nus, 214, 333
Cylle′ ne, Mt., 93, 196
Cyp′ ria, the, 365
Cy′ prus, 205
Cyre′ ne, 12, 127, 356
Cy′ rus, 12
Cytisso′ rus, 348
Cyz′ icus, 354

Dac′ tyli, 145
Dæd′ alus, 297, 300 f.
Damas′ tes (Procrus′ tes), 342
Dan′ aë, 94, 263
Dan′ aïs, 94, 259
  daughters of, 243, 261
Danube, 356
Daph′ ne, 14
Daph′ nis, 193
Dar′ danus, 359
De′ a Mu′ ta (Tac′ ita), 238
Deïph′ obus, 379, 381
Dei′ no, 264
Dejanei′ ra, 327, 333
De′ lia (see Artemis)
De′ los, 120, 136, 298
Del′ phi, 122, 124 (Fig. 30)
Delphin′ ia, 18
Deme′ ter, 17, 23, 58, 93, 133, 171 f.
  Chlo′ e, 171
  old grain goddess of Arcadia, 157
  Thesmoph′ oros, 173
  in art, 183 (see also Figs. 43, 45, and 47)
Deuca′ lion, 86, 269
Deuca′ lion of Crete, 296, 300
Dia′ na, 139 (see Artemis)
Dic′ te, Mt., 91
Dictyn′ na (Artemis), 299
Dic′ tys, 264
Did′ ymi, 129
Di′ ke (*dee′ kay*, Justice), 95
Din′ dymon, Mt., 143
Diome′ des, 53, 54, 214, 364, 367
  horses of, 322
Dio′ ne (mother of Aphrodite), 41, 54, 93, 205
Dio′ ne (wife of Tantalus), 360
Dionys′ ia, 187
Diony′ sus, 33, 58, 94, 183 f.
  birth of, 15, 22, 183
  god of vegetation, 189
  the "twice-born," 285
  in art, 192 (see also Figs. 49, 53)
Dioscu′ ri, 280 (see Castor and Polydeuces)
Dir′ ce, 281, 282 (Fig. 89)
Dis Pa′ ter, 237
Di′ us Fid′ ius, 336
Dodo′ na, 90
dog days, 9, 167
Do′ rians, 333, 336
Do′ rus, 87
dragon's teeth, 284, 355
Dry′ ads (see Hamadryads)
Dryo′ pians, 333
Dry′ ops, 78, 202

Ech′ emus, 275
earthquakes, 154, 328
Echid′ na, 320
Echi′ on, 285
Ech′ o, 202
Ege′ ria, 253
Eido′ thea, 57
Eileithyi′ a, 101, 107
Elec′ tra (daughter of Agamemnon), 384
Elec′ tra (nymph), 169, 359
Elec′ tryon, 267
Eleusin′ ia, 180
Eleu′ sis, 17, 172, 181 (Fig. 48)
Elys′ ium, 233

Encel′adus, 75, 115
Endym′ion, 33, 162
Eni′peus, 57
Enyal′ius, 213
En′yo (Bello′na), 264
E′os, 59, 161, 307, 378
Ep′aphus, 259
Ephial′tes, 49, 55, 75
Epicas′te (see Jocaste)
Epichar′mus, 9
Epidau′rus, 223
Epig′oni, 292
Epime′theus, 68, 82, 84
Epi′one, 224
Er, 32
Er′ato. 106
Er′ebus, 65
Erech′theus, 302 f.
Erichtho′nius, 111, 302, 303
Erid′anus, 325
Erig′one, 187
Erin′yes, 239, 384
Eriphy′le, 290, 293
Er′is, 213, 363
Er′os, 65, 205, 211 (Fig. 61)
and Psy′che, 212
Er′ulus, 251
Eryman′thian boar, 321
Eryman′thus, Mt., 50
Erythe′ia, 324
Er′yx, 210, 325
Ete′ocles, 290 f.
Ethio′pians, 161
Eudo′rus, 197
Eue′nus, 279, 334
Euhe′merus, 11
Eumæ′us, 391
Eume′lus, 49
Eumen′ides (see Erinyes), 239
Eumol′pus, 304, 308
Euphe′mus, 357
Euphros′yne, 105
Euro′pa, 283, 294
Euro′tas, 275
Eu′rus, 60, 170
Eury′ale, 265
Euryb′ia, 66, 149
Euryclei′a, 391 (Fig. 137)
Euryd′ice, 241 (Fig. 75)
Euryganei′a, 289
Euryn′ome, 93, 104
Eurys′theus, 267, 268, 318 f., 334
Euryt′ion, 324, 362
Eu′rytus, 127, 329, 334
Euter′pe, 106
Evan′der, 248, 253, 255, 337

Fa′bius, 337
Fates, 350 (see also Moirai)
Fat′uus (Faunus), 248
Fau′na, 248, 337
Fau′nus, 247, 248 (Fig. 78), 255
Faus′tulus, 256
Favori′nus (Zephyrus), 170
Fero′nia, 251
Fi′des, 254
flood, story of a, 86, 304
Flo′ra, 251
Flora′lia, 251
Fon′tus (Fons), 247
four ages, 83
fox of Dionysus, 307
Furies (see Erinyes), 67, 239
Furri′næ, 240

Ga′ia, 65, 142
Galate′a, 56, 150
Ganyme′des, 48, 107, 359
Gar′anus, 337
Ge (see Gaia)
Gela′nor, 261
Ge′nii, 222
Gen′ita Ma′na, 238
Geræs′tus, 55
Gery′oneus, 324
Giants, 66, 67, 71
battle of gods and, 73 f. (see also Figs. 11, 12, and 14)

girdle of Hippolyte, 323
Glau′ ce, 358
Glau′ cus of Corinth, 270
Glau′ cus of Crete (son of Minos), 300
Glau′ cus the Lycian (son of Hippol′ ochus), 49, 372
Glau′ cus, a sea god, 150
Golden Age, 69, 84, 248
golden fleece, 158, 347, 352
Gor′ dias, 144
Gor′ gons, 264
Graces, the, 52, 93, 210
Græ′ æ, 264
Gy′ es, 67

Ha′ des, 55, 61, 177, 229, 327
  the god of agriculture, 235, 236
Hæ′ mon, 292
Halirrho′ thius, 214.
Hamadry′ ads, 192
Harmo′ nia, 285
Har′ pies, 60, 169, 354
He′ be, 47, 107
  married to Heracles, 335
Hec′ ate, 138
Hec′ tor, 371
Hec′ uba, 381
Hel′ en, 51, 53, 276, 366, 379, 383
Hel′ enus, 378
Hel′ icon, Mt., 55, 106
Heli′ adæ, 161
He′ lios, 3, 59, 159
  in art, 164
Hel′ le, 347
Hel′ len, 87, 269
Hel′ lespont, 347
Hephæs′ tus, 47, 111, 217
  in art, 219 (see also Fig. 64)
He′ra, 11, 44, 93, 99 f., 350
  Akrai′ a, 100
  goddess of marriage, 101
  marriage of, 101
  patron of Argos, 258
He′ra, quarrels with Zeus, 41, 45, 100
  Telei′ a, 101
  in art, 100 (Fig. 19), 102
Her′ acles, 11, 61, 81, 107, 214, 314 f., 353
  birth of, 267
  choice of, 316
  insanity of, 318
  labors of, 34, 319 f.
  in art, 29; also Figs. 102–112
Heræ′ um, the, 100
Her′ cules, 336 (see Heracles)
Her′ mes, 23, 50, 127, 130, 195 f.
  conducts the dead, 61 and Fig. 70 (p. 230)
  the herald, 199
  Enod′ ios (god of roads), 200
  slays Argus, 258
  in art, 201; also Fig. 55 (p. 198)
Hermi′ one, 230
Herod′ otus, 260
Her′ se, 9 (Fig. 2), 305
He′ siod, 2, 65 f., 81, 205, 257
Hesi′ one, 330, 362
Hesper′ ides, apples of, 3 (Fig. 1), 325
Hes′ perus, 166
Hes′ tia, 220
Hilar′ ia, 277
Hippo′ coön, 332
Hippocre′ ne, 272
Hippodamei′ a, 210, 361
Hippol′ ochos, 272
Hippol′ yte, 323
Hippol′ ytus, 210, 345
Hippoth′ oön, 342
Ho′ mer, the gods in, 36
  family life in, 23
  future life in, 60
Ho′ nos, 254
hoopoë, legend of the, 306
Ho′ ræ, 93, 103

human sacrifice, 273, 347
Hyacin′thus, 33, 126, 276
Hy′ades, 165
Hy′dra, 320
Hygie′ia, 224, 253
Hy′las, 193, 354
Hyl′lus, 275, 333, 336
Hyper′bius, 75
Hyperbore′ans, 125, 136
Hype′rion, 66, 68, 160
Hypermnes′tra, 261
Hyp′nos, 237 (Fig. 74)

Iac′chus, 182
Iam′be, 182
Iap′etus, 66, 68
Ia′sion, 58, 171
Ica′rius, 277
Ic′arus, 165, 186
Ic′arus (son of Dædalus), 300
I′da, Mt., 88, 91, 210
I′das, 49, 127, 275, 278, 311
Idom′eneus, 296
Il′iad, the, 369
  the little, 378
Ilio′neus, 197
Iliuper′sis, the, 378
Illyr′ia, 356
I′lus, 359
In′achus, 147, 257
I′no, 38, 57, 150, 285, 347
I′o, 9, 11, 93, 257, 258
Iola′us, 316, 333
Iol′cus, 363
I′ole, 334
I′on, 87, 308, 309
Io′nians, 309, 338
Iph′icles, 268
Iphigenei′a, 134, 368
Iph′itus, 329
I′ris, 51, 52 (Fig. 6), 107
Isan′dros, 272
Isles of the Blessed, 227
Isme′ne, 292
Isth′mian Games, 18, 158, 270, 340
It′ylus, 283
I′tys, 306
Ixi′on, 243

Janic′ulum, 247
Ja′nus, 140, 246
Ja′son, 311, 350 f.
Jocas′te, 288 f.
Ju′no, 102, 337
  Luce′tia (Luci′na), 103
  epithets of, 103
juno, 222
Ju′piter, 98
  epithets of, 98–99
Jupiter In′diges, 255
Jutur′na, 247, 252

Ko′re, 176 (see Persephone)
Kydoi′mos, 213

Lab′dacus, 287
labyrinth, 297
Lacedæ′mon, 79, 276, 332
Lach′esis, 350
Laco′nia, myths of, 275
Laër′tes, 387, 393
Laestryg′ones, 389
La′ïus, 283, 287
Laodamei′a, 272, 368
Laoc′oön, 380; also Fig. 130
Laom′edon, 49, 127, 330, 359
la′pis mana′lis, 229
Lap′iths, 28, 33, 333
  battle with the Centaurs, 345
La′res, 221, 229
Larun′da, 238
Lar′væ, 229
Lati′nus, 255, 337
Lato′na (see Leto)
Lavin′ia, 255
Lear′chus, 347
Le′da, 277

Le′ lex, 275
Lem′ nos, 217, 219, 353, 368
Lem′ ures, 229
Lenæ′ a, 187
Lernæ′ an Hy′ dra, 320
Les′ ches, 378
Le′ the, 231
Le′ to, 23, 93, 119
  in art, 122
Leucip′ pus, 277
  daughters of, 279
Leu′ cas, island of, 378
Leucothe′ a, 38, 57, 150, 348
Li′ ber, 179, 191
Lib′ era, 179, 191
Libera′ lia, 191
Liber′ tas, 254
Lib′ ya, 356
Li′ chas, 334
life of the dead, 60, 225 (retribution, 227, 233, 243)
Limenti′ nus, 246
Li′ nus, 168, 317
lions, 144
lotus eaters, 388
lower world, myths of, 225 f.
Luci′ na (see Juno Lucetia)
Luper′ cus, 248 (see Faunus)
lute (invented by Hermes), 196
Lycæ′ um, Mt., 89 note, 273
Lyca′ on, 17, 86, 273
Lyc′ tus, Mt., 91
Lycur′ gus, 58, 190, 274
Ly′ cus, 281
Lyn′ ceus, 261, 275, 278, 311

Macha′ on, 379
Mæn′ ads, 184, 193
Mæ′ ra, 187
Mag′ na Ma′ ter, 145
Ma′ ia, 93, 195
Ma′ nes, 229
Man′ tus, 238
Mar′ athon, 343
Maratho′ nian bull, 343
Marpes′ sa, 49, 127, 279
Mars, 214
Mar′ syas, 20 (Fig. 3), 21 (note), 144, 194
Ma′ ter Matu′ ta, 151
Matrona′ lia, 103
Mede′ a, 11, 210, 270, 342, 355 f.
Medu′ sa, 5, 265
Meg′ ara, 317
Melam′ pus, 262
Melea′ ger, 311 f., 327
Me′ lia, 258
Me′ lian Nymphs, 67
Melicer′ tes, 150, 347, 348
Melpom′ ene, 106
Mem′ non, 162, 377
Menœ′ ceus, 291
Menela′ us, 55, 57, 233, 366, 382 f., 386
Menes′ theus, 262
Mer′ cury, 201
Mer′ ope, 269
Me′ tis, 110
Mezen′ tius, 255
Mi′ das, 144, 194
Milan′ ion, 313
Miner′ va (Mener′ va), 118
Minō′ a, 300
Mi′ nos, 227, 295, 307
Min′ otaur, 296 f.
Mnemos′ yne, 67, 70, 93, 105
Moi′ ra, 40
monotheism, 97
Mop′ sus, 353
Müller, K. O., 21
Müller, Max, 13
mun′ dus, 229
Mu′ ses, 49, 93, 105
  list of, 106
  in art, 104, 105, and also Fig. 21
Myce′ ne, 266
Myce′ neus, 266

Myr′ midons, 362, 373
Myr′ rha, 206
Myr′ tilus, 361
mysteries (at Eleusis), 180
mythology and art, 26
  and the epic, 62
  and language, 13
  and religion, 16
  method of, 30
  reason for study of, 6
  as history, 11
Myths, classification, 31
  data for, 24 f.
  definition, 1
  interpretation, 8
  origin and development, 19
  survival, 14

Na′ iads, 58, 147, 192
Nausic′ aä, 50, 387
nec′ tar, 37
Ne′ leus, 350
Neme′ an lion, 319
Nem′ esis, 277
Neoptol′ emus, 379
Neph′ ele, 347
Nep′ tune, 159
Ne′ reïds, 56, 149, 266
Ne′ reus, 56, 149
Nes′ sus, 334
Nes′ tor, 350, 367, 386
nightingale, 283, 306
Ni′ ke (*nee′ kay*), 116
Nile, 108, 161
Ni′ obe, 119, 283, 360
Ni′ sus, 300
Nos′ toi, the, 381
No′ tus, 60, 170
Nu′ ma, 253
Nu′ mitor, 255
Nyc′ teus, 281
nymphs, 58, 68, 127, 133, 147, 192, 252
Ny′ sa, 22, 184

ob′ ol, 231 (Fig. 71)
Oce′ anus, 2, 65, 66, 146
Oc′ nus, 243
Odys′ seus, 4, 55, 59, 60, 364, 367, 385 f.
Od′ yssey, 385
Œcha′ lia, 328
Œd′ ipus, 287 f.
Œ′ neus, 50, 310, 333
Œnoma′ us, 361
Œno′ ne, 366
Œno′ pion, 166
Œ′ ta, Mt., 332
Ogy′ ges, 304
O′ ïcles, 331
Olym′ pian games, 18, 90, 315
  gods, 23, 41, 70
Olym′ pus, Mt., 71, 88, 96, 196
omens, 99, 368
Om′ phale, 329
Ops, 250
oracles (see Delphi, Dodona)
Or′ cus, 233, 237
O′ reads, 192
Ores′ tes, 24, 275, 384
Ori′ on, 59, 162, 166
Oreithyi′ a, 8, 9 (Fig. 2), 170, 303, 308
Or′ pheus, 106, 241, 353
Or′ phic gods, 66
Orsil′ ochus, 57
Or′ thrus, 324
Ortyg′ ia, 133, 136
Os′ sa, Mt., 49
O′ thrys, Mt., 71, 87
O′ tus, 49, 55

Pæ′ an, 130, 222
Pæs′ tum, 154
Pag′ asæ, 333
Paie′ ön (see Pæan), 37
Palæ′ mon, 150, 348
Palame′ des, 367, 369
Palla′ dium, 379

Pal′las, 255, 337
Pal′las Athena (see Athena), 115
Pan, 202
  in philosophy, 204
  in art, 204 (also Fig. 57, p. 203)
Pans, 184, 203
Panathenæ′a, 17, 111, 303, 344
Pan′dia, 162
Pan′dion, 303, 306
Pando′ra, 80, 81 (Fig. 13), 82
Pandro′sus, 305
Panic, 54
Panop′tes (Argus), 258
Par′cæ (see Fates)
Par′is, 366
  judgment of, 53, 208, 366
Parnas′sus, Mt., 87, 189
Par′thenon, Fig. 23 (p. 114)
Parthenopæ′us, 313
Pasiph′aë, 296, 307
Pa′ter Matuti′nus, 246
Pat′roclus or Patroc′lus, 49, 57, 373
Pa′vor, 254
Pax, 254
Peg′asus, 5, 265, 272
Pei′ren, 257
Peire′ne, 257, 269
Peirith′oüs, 242, 277, 311, 343, 345
Pelas′gus, 273
Pe′leus, 55, 311, 331, 362 f.
Pe′lias, 350 f., 357
Pe′lion, Mt., 49, 363
Pe′lops, 360, 361
Pena′tes, 221
Penel′ope, 52, 277, 387, 391
Penthesile′ia, 377
Pen′theus, 185, 285 f.
Pephre′do (Pemphre′do), 264
Per′gamon, altar of, 73 (Fig. 11)
Peribœ′a, 362
Periclym′enus, 332
Periphe′tes, 340
Perseph′one, 17, 58, 62, 172, 207, 346
  queen of Hades, 176, 235
  rape of, 176, 177 (Fig. 46), 236
Per′seus, 94, 263
Phæa′cians, 55, 387
Phæ′dra, 345
Pha′ëthon, 161, 210
Pharmaci′a, 8
Pha′sis, 356
Phe′ræ, 349
Phe′res, 349
Philocte′tes, 368, 379
Philome′la, 303, 306
Phi′neus, 266, 308, 354
Phleg′ethon (Pyriphleg′ethon), 231, 233
Phob′os, 213
Phœ′bus (see Apollo)
Phœ′be, 66, 277
Phœ′nix, 294
Pho′lus, 321
Phor′cys, 57, 149, 264
Phoro′neus, 258, 273
Phos′phorus, 166
Phrix′us, 347
Phron′tes, 383
Pi′cus, 248, 255
Pie′res, 275
Pi′etas, 254
Pit′theus, 339
Platæ′a, battle of, 275
Ple′iades, 59, 165
Plu′to (Pluton), 177, 235
Plu′to (a nymph), 360
Podar′ge, 60
Podar′kes, 331
Poi′as, 335
Poi′nai, 239
Pol′lux, 280 (see Polydeuces)
Polybo′tes, 75
Pol′ybus, 288
Polydec′tes, 264, 265

Polydeu′ces, 277, 278 f., 311, 353, 354
Polydo′ra, 362
Polydo′rus, 285, 381
Polyei′des, 300
Polyme′le, 197
Polym′nia, 106
Polynei′ces, 290 f.
Polyphe′mus, 37, 56, 57, 388
Polyx′ena, 381
Pomo′na, 252
Pon′tus, 149
Portu′nus, 150
Posei′don, 17, 55, 113, 153 f., 330
  compared with St. Nicholas, 155
  contest with Athena, 304
  god of agriculture, 157
  god of horsemanship, 55, 158
  patron of Theseus, 339
  in art, 159; also Figs. 38 and 39
Pot′niai (Erinyes), 239
Pri′am, 51, 331, 351
Proc′ne, 303, 306
Pro′cris, 299, 303, 306
Procrus′tes (Damastes), 342
Prœ′tus (Proi′tos), 261, 271
  daughters of, 262
Prome′theus, 68, 80, 219, 326
Proser′pina, 179 (see Persephone)
Protesila′us, 368
Pro′teus, 57
Psy′che, 212
Pterela′üs, 268
Pyg′mies, 326
Py′lades, 384
Py′lus, 332
Pyr′rha, 86
Pyriphleg′ethon (see Phlegethon)
Pyth′ia, 130
Pyth′ian priestess (see Pythia)
Py′thon (Pytho), 17, 122
Quiri′nus, 216, 256

ram with the golden fleece, the, 158, 347
Re′mus, 216, 256
retribution after death, 227, 233, 243
Reville, A., 9, 11
Rhadaman′thus, 227, 295
Rhe′a, 41, 55, 65, 142
Rhea-Cybele, 143
Rhe′a Sil′via, 216 (Fig. 63), 256, 337
Rhodes, 160
Rho′dos, 148, 160
river gods, 33, 57, 68, 146, 252
Rock of Withering, 231
Rom′ulus, 216, 256

Sa′bines, rape of the, 250, 256
Sal′amis, 148
Sa′lii, 215, 216
Salmo′neus, 349
Sa′lus, 253
Sa′mos (worship of Hera), 101
Sanga′rius, 143
Sarpe′don, 40, 295
Sat′urn (Satur′nus, Saëtur′nus), 249
Saturna′lia, 250
Sa′tyrs, 194, 202
Scaman′der, 47, 58, 375
Scei′ron, 341
Scyl′la, 57, 151, 325, 390
Scyl′la of Megara, 300
Seile′nus (see Silen)
Sele′ne, 33, 162
Seli′nus, 146 (Fig. 35)
Sem′ele, 58, 93, 183, 285
Sem′nai (Erinyes), 239
Se′mo San′cus, 336
Seri′phos, 264
Sib′yl, 129, 139, 193, 233
Si′len, 144

Sile′ ni, 184, 194
Silva′ nus, 248
Si′ nis, 340
Si′ non, 381
Si′ rens, 57, 151, 390
Sir′ ius, 167
Sis′ yphus, 61, 243, 268, 349
Sol (see Helios)
Sol′ ymi, 271
Sorac′ te, Mt., 251
souls, 226
Spar′ ti, 284
Spencer, H., 12
Sperche′ ius, 57, 362
Spes, 254
Sphinx, riddle of the, 288
Ster′ opes, 67
Sthenebœ′ a (see Anteia)
Sthen′ elus, 267
Sthe′ no, 265
Sto′ ics, 9
Stympha′ lian birds, 322
Styx, 231, 327
sun, horses of the, 161
swallow, 306
Sy′ leus, 329
Sympleg′ ades, 355

Tæ′ narum, 230
Ta′ lus, 297
Tan′ talus, 84, 243, 360
Ta′ phians, 268
Tar′ as, 154
Taren′ tum, 154
Tar′ tarus, 231
Taÿ′ gete, 3, 79, 133
Taÿ′ getus, Mt., 50
Teire′ sias, 60, 226, 286, 389
Tel′ amon, 311, 331, 362
Telchi′ nes, 151
Telem′ achus, 385 f.
Tel′ ephus, 274, 368
Tel′ lus, 175
Tem′ pe, vale of, 4, 34, 71
Te′ reus, 306
Ter′ minus, 254
Terpsich′ ore, 106
Te′ thys, 65, 66, 146
Teu′ cer, 362
Teu′ thras, 274
Thali′ a, 105, 106
Thal′ lo, 104
Than′ atos, 237 (Fig. 74)
Thau′ mas, 149, 169
The′ be, 148
Thebes, myths of, 281
The′ ia, 66, 68, 160
The′ mis, 67, 70, 87, 93, 103, 121, 122, 366
Thersan′ der, 292
Thersi′ tes, 377
These′ um, the, 318
The′ seus, 191, 277, 298, 311, 327, 338 f.
  labors of, 340
Thesmopho′ ria, 173, 174
The′ tis, 37, 43, 47, 56, 58, 363, 378
Thoō′ sa, 57
Thyes′ tes, 361
Tiberi′ nus, 247, 252
Tir′ yns, 261, 266
Ti′ tans, 12, 33, 66
  battle of, 70 f.
Titho′ nus, 162
Tit′ yus, 60, 119
Triptol′ emus, 172
Tri′ ton, 156
tri′ tons, 149, 156
Tro′ ilus, 369
Troy, legend of, 359 f.
Tur′ nus, 255
Ty′ deus, 290, 364
Tyn′ dareus, 275, 277, 367
Tylor, E. B., 10 note
Typhœ′ us (Ty′ phon), 72, 75, 100, 169, 320
Ty′ ro, 57, 349
Tyrrhe′ nian sea, 356

Ulys' ses (see Odysseus)
Ura' nia, 106 (for Aphrodite Urania, see Aphrodite)
U' ranus, 33, 66, 67

Venil' ia, 247
Ve' nus, 63, 207, 212, 254
Vertumna' lia, 252
Vertum' nus (Vortumnus), 251
Ves' ta, 221, 228 (Fig. 69)
Ves' tal Virgins, 221, 253
Victo' ria, 254 (see also Nike)
Vir' gil, 63, 233, 254
Vir' tus, 254
Vul' can (Volcanus), 219

Winds, 169
wolf, 216, 273
wooden horse, 379

Xer' xes, ships of, 308
Xu' thus, 308

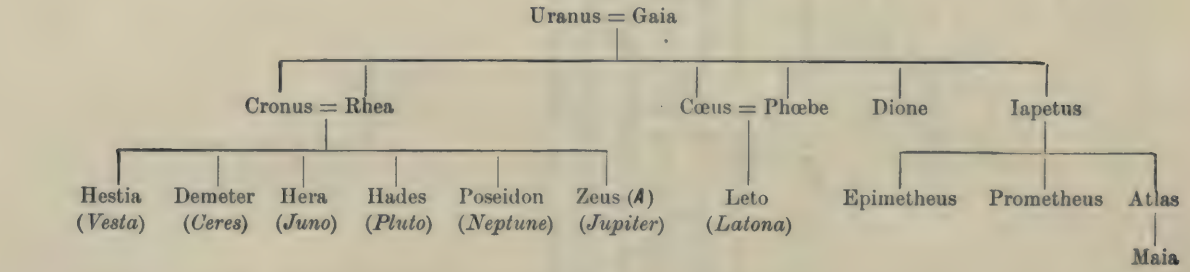
Za' greus, 190
Zeph' yrus, 60, 170
Ze' tes, 308, 353, 354
Ze' thus, 93, 281
Zeus, 11, 33, 42 f., 86, 88 f.
  Aster' ios, 88
  battle with the Titans, 70, 89
  birth of, 68, 91, 142
  father of gods and men, 42, 96
  god of the family, 95
  grave of, 92
  nature god of Thessaly, 347
  omnipotence of, 39, 43
  Pelo' rios, 4
  Po' lieus, 91
  the sky god, 43, 88 f., 107
  the supreme god, 97
  Tallai' os, 88
  war god, 89
  wives of, 20, 22, 93, 119, 258, 268, 274, 277, 281, 285, 295, 362
  in art, 98 (see also Fig. 4, p. 45, and Fig. 15, p. 89)
Zeuxip' pe, 303

NOTE TO GENEALOGICAL TABLES

The Greeks never succeeded in reducing the families of gods and heroes to any one genealogical table which was universally accepted. The tables which follow merely represent these relationships in the manner which has become traditional; some details are conjectural, and various names appear which are not found in the text of this book since little or nothing is known of them.

TABLE I.—THE OLYMPIAN GODS.

(The Latin names are added in Italics.)



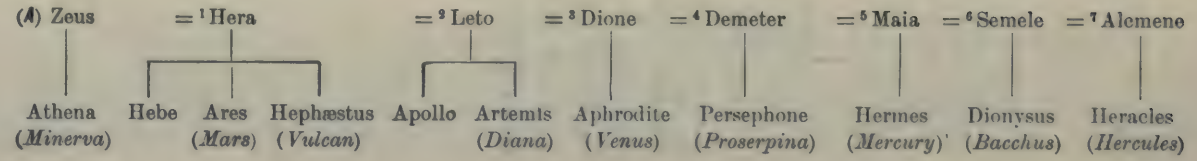


TABLE II.—THE FAMILY OF INACHUS.

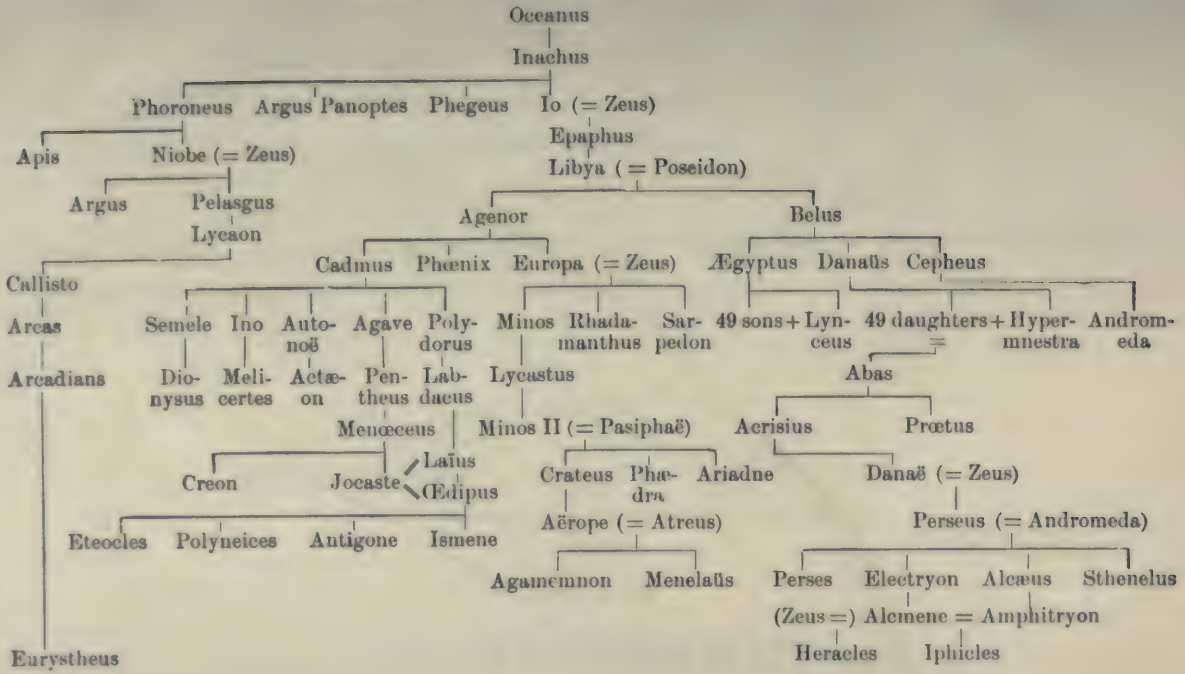
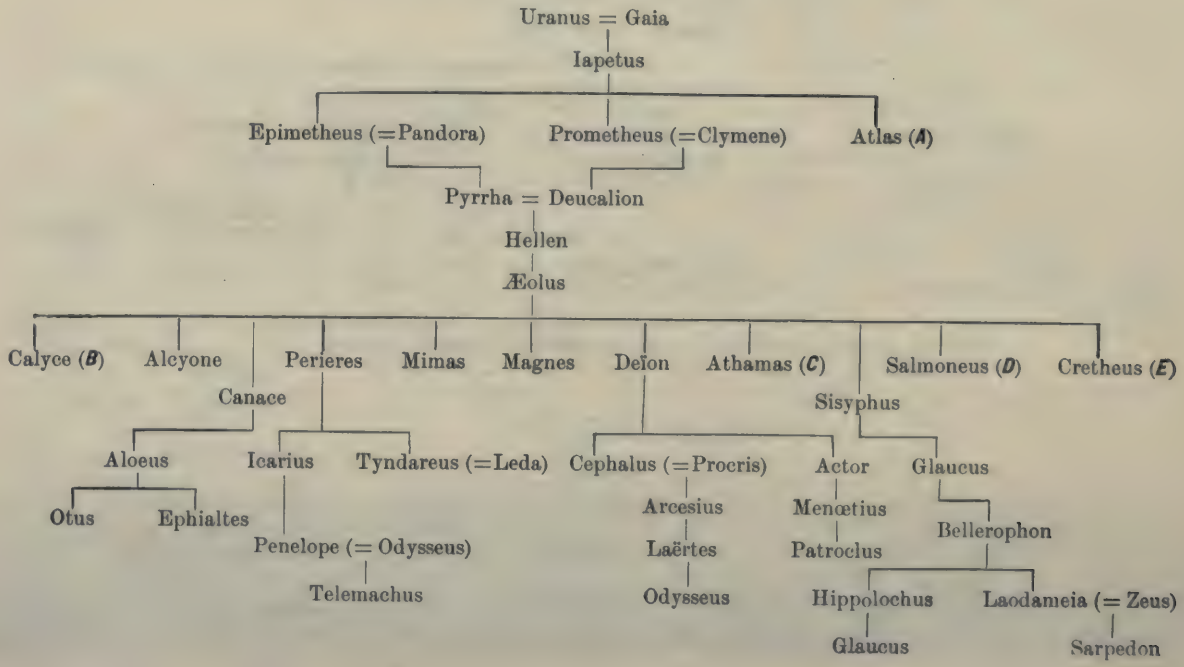



Table III.—THE DESCENDANTS OF HELLEN.